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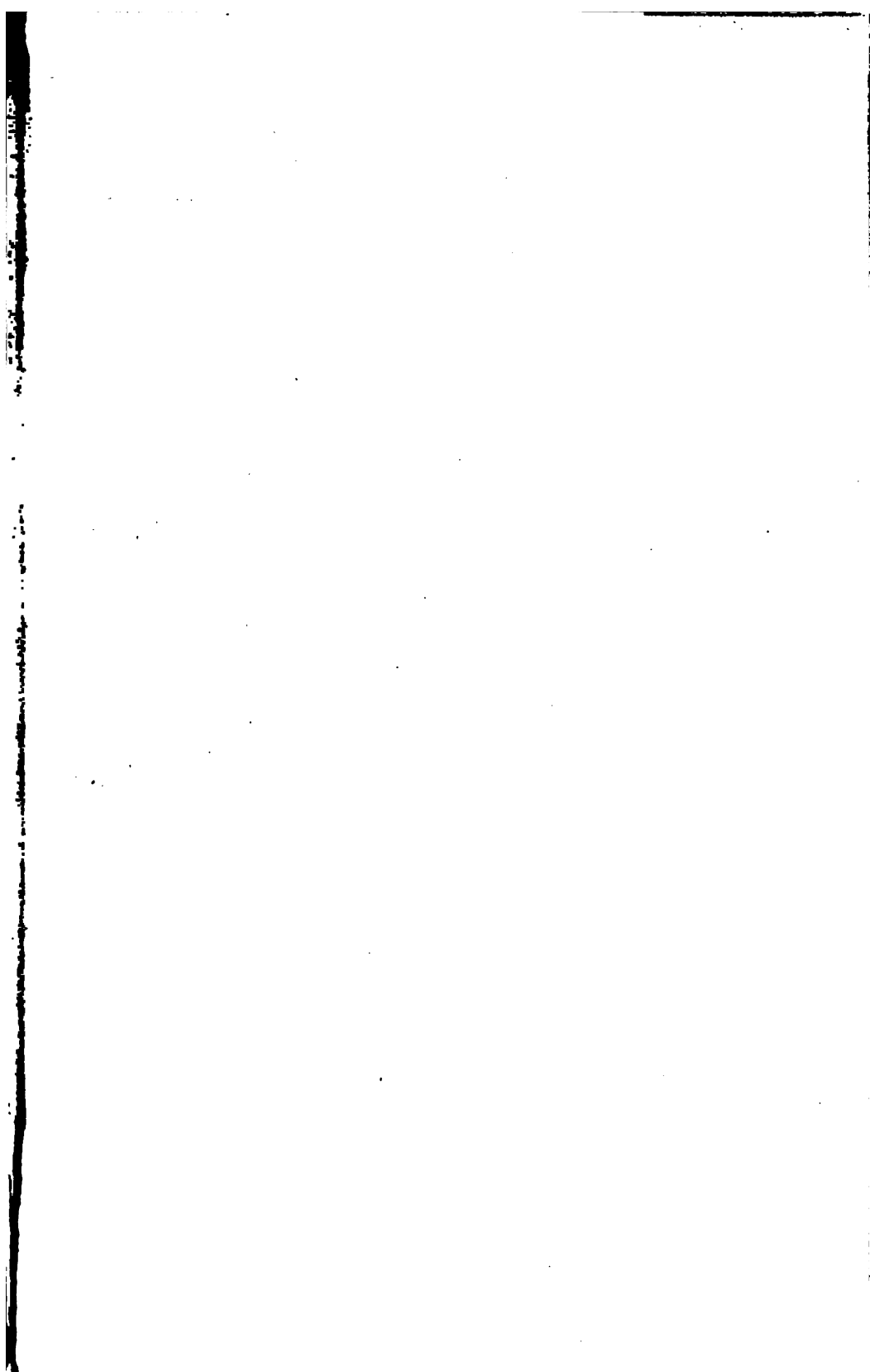


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Journal of Social Science. Extra Number.

Vol. 1
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES

HELD IN CONNECTION WITH THE

GENERAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION,

AT

SARATOGA, SEPTEMBER, 1877.

PUBLISHED FOR THE CONFERENCE,

BY A. WILLIAMS & CO., BOSTON, MASS.

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Gift of
Dr. Francis H. B. . . .
of Boston.

PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

CHARLES S. HOYT, M. D., ALBANY, N. Y.
HENRY W. LORD, PONTIAC, MICH.

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P R E F A C E .

The Conference of Charities at Saratoga was the fourth that has been held since May, 1874. It was found, some years since, that the members of the various State Boards which deal with Public Charity in the United States were desirous of a better acquaintance with each other, and that they could meet together and discuss the questions in which they had a common interest with mutual profit and encouragement. It also appeared that a considerable number of persons, some officially connected with public or private charities, and others not, were desirous of attending such a meeting, and were both competent and willing to join in its debates or to contribute papers which should be the fruit of special research, or of long experience. Therefore the Standing Committee of the Saratoga Conference of 1876 (Messrs. Hoyt, Ourt, and Haight), being authorized to do so, and having made the necessary arrangements, called the Conference of the present year in connection with the General Meeting of the American Social Science Association at Saratoga, on the 5th and 6th of September, 1877.

The sessions of the Conference were held in the town-hall. All members of the Social Science Association were allowed to take part in the Conference, as well as persons officially delegated or specially invited. The papers and reports prepared by request of the Committee of Arrangements, or of the Chairmen of Standing Committees, are here printed in full; but of the discussions, in many cases, only

abstracts could be given. In some instances the speakers have been kind enough to write out an abstract of their remarks, and in all cases the editors have sought to give the substance of what was said. The same observation applies to the Reports from the State Boards.

Members of the Standing Committees named on page xii will receive a copy of these Proceedings, and all such are requested to notify the Secretaries of the Conference whether they can attend to the duties assigned them.

Copies of these Proceedings, and of the pamphlet reports of the previous Conferences, may be ordered of either member of the Publication Committee, or of F. B. Sanborn, at the office of the American Social Science Association, 5 Pemberton Square, Boston. Reports issued by the several Boards, annually or biennially, may be obtained of the Secretaries of these Boards, whose post-office addresses are given in the list on pages ix-x. Various matters of interest concerning these Boards will be found in the "Journal of Social Science," Nos. I.-VIII., published and for sale at the office of the Association in Boston.

This Report of the Proceedings of the Conference of Charities in 1877, will be sent, as was that of 1876, to all members of the Social Science Association, and will take the place of a number of the "Journal of Social Science," the publication of which has been unavoidably delayed.

The next meeting of the Conference will take place at the West, either in Chicago or in Cincinnati.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES,
HELD AT SARATOGA,
SEPTEMBER 5TH-6TH, 1877.

By the courtesy of the town authorities of Saratoga Springs, the town-hall was placed at the disposal of the American Social Science Association, and all the sessions of the Conference (six in number) were held there. The first session began at 10 A. M., on the 5th of September.

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, Secretary of the New York State Board of Charities, who announced that, owing to illness, Governor Robinson of New York was prevented from being present and presiding. On motion, the Hon. John V. L. Pruyn, President of the State Board of Charities of New York, was called to the Chair, and spoke as follows :—

ADDRESS OF MR. PRUYN.

We all, I am sure, very much regret that Governor Robinson is not with us, and that we lose not only the benefit of his general views on the matters we are to consider, but also those which I am led to believe he expected to present on a subject of much interest at the present time, and which we hope to hear in the future.

The request to preside at this meeting, under these circumstances, came at so late an hour, that I accepted it on the condition, that, while I would gladly speak a few brief words of welcome to friends from other States, I must confine my remarks chiefly to what has been done in our own State, and largely by our own people.

We deal with practical subjects. Want is to be relieved, misery cared for; the old need aid, and the young, care and attention. It is oftentimes difficult to determine where the public aid should come in, and where it should end; where the public should interpose, and where the individual should be called upon to take care of himself.

Constituted as our Board is, we have no power of control; we can only suggest and recommend; but I may say, that, almost without exception, the views of the Board and its members, when given, have been thoroughly respected and acted upon.

The condition of dependent and delinquent children in this State called for the attention of the Board at an early date, and Mr. Letchworth is expected to read you a paper on that subject. He has given to this matter great thought and attention, and his philanthropic labors deserve the warmest praise. In 1868 the number of these children in the poorhouses and almshouses of the State, without including New York and Kings counties, was 1,222. In 1876 this number had been reduced to 505, including New York and Kings. The children taken out have been placed in orphan asylums, or provided for in families. The work is one of great interest, and I have no doubt you will hear the details with much gratification.

The general condition of the poorhouses of our State has vastly improved within a few years, and the arrangements for their ventilation and cleanliness are very creditable to the managers.

The increased attention given to the condition of the insane has developed facts of very great significance. Dr. Chapin's paper on this subject will, I doubt not, command your earnest attention. The most complete census of insanity in a given territory was that taken in 1871, under the superintendence of Dr. Hoyt, Secretary of the New York Board, who performed an amount of labor in carrying it out almost without parallel. The number of insane in the State at that time was found to be nearly 7,000. The number at present is probably about 7,500.

Our provision in this State for the insane, with the new asylums at Poughkeepsie, Buffalo, and Middletown, when completed, will be ample for acute cases, but further arrangements are necessary for the chronic insane. Accommodations could be made for the latter in buildings on the same plan as that

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adopted at the Willard Asylum, where the patients could be housed at a cost of about \$500 per capita.

Other matters might be referred to, but I have no right to detain you on general topics. For myself and my friends, I give to all the delegates a cordial welcome to this Conference. I thank you for the honor of naming me to preside. I trust our deliberations may lead to an increased interest in our charitable organizations, and also to increased efforts to mitigate the sufferings of humanity; always remembering the saying of our Lord, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye did it unto me."

REPORT OF THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE.

On motion of Dr. Hoyt, an invitation was extended to delegates from all kindred boards and associations, including the officers charged with the duty of caring for the poor, and the officers of institutions for the care of the insane, who might be present, to take part in the deliberations of the Conference, and to give their names to the Secretaries for publication in the Proceedings.

On motion, William P. Letchworth, Vice-President of the New York Board, Dr. Charles S. Hoyt of New York, and Henry W. Lord, Esq., of Michigan, were appointed Secretaries.

The following Business Committee was then appointed to report the attendance on this Conference, the order of business, and the Standing Committees for next year: Messrs. Theodore Roosevelt of New York, F. B. Sanborn of Massachusetts, A. E. Elmore of Wisconsin, George I. Chace of Rhode Island, and Henry W. Lord of Michigan. This Committee, after due deliberation, made the following report:—

REPORT OF BUSINESS COMMITTEE.

There are at present in the United States nine State boards or commissions charged with the general oversight of charitable work in the States where they exist. These boards, named in the order of seniority, are,—

1. The Massachusetts Board of State Charities, established in 1863.
2. The New York State Board of Charities, established in 1867.

3. The Ohio Board of State Charities, established in 1867; reorganized in 1876.

4. The Rhode Island Board of State Charities and Corrections, established in 1869.

5. The Pennsylvania Board of Commissioners of Public Charities, established in 1869.

6. The Illinois Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities, established in 1869.

7. The Wisconsin State Board of Charities and Reform, established in 1871.

8. The Michigan Board of State Commissioners for the Supervision of the Penal, Pauper, and Reformatory Institutions, established in 1871.

9. The Connecticut State Board of Charities, established in 1873.

A special organization has existed as a State Board in New York since 1847—the Commissioners of Emigration.

The present officers and members of the State Boards are as follows:—

MASSACHUSETTS. (Term of Office, Five Years.)

Nathan Allen, M. D., Lowell, Chairman; Charles F. Donnelly, Boston; Moses Kimball, Boston; S. C. Wrightington, Fall River, General Agent; Sidney Andrews, Boston, Secretary. (Two vacancies exist in this Board, by the retirement of Mr. F. B. Sanborn, and the death of Mr. Edward Earle.)

NEW YORK. (Term of Office, Eight Years.)

John V. L. Pruyn, Albany, President; William P. Letchworth, Buffalo, Vice-President; Theodore Roosevelt, No. 32 Pine Street, New York; Mrs. C. R. Lowell, No. 120 East Thirtieth Street, New York; Edward C. Donnelly, Manhattanville, New York; Ripley Ropes, No. 40 Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn; Harvey G. Eastman, Poughkeepsie; Samuel F. Miller, Franklin, Delaware County; Edward W. Foster, Potsdam, St. Lawrence County; Martin B. Anderson, Rochester; John C. Devereux, Utica, Oneida County. *Ex officio* members: The Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, Comptroller and Attorney-General. Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, Albany, Secretary; James O. Fanning, Albany, Assistant Secretary.

OHIO. (Term of Office, Three Years.)

Thomas Young, Governor, President, *ex officio*; John W. Andrews, Columbus; Charles J. Allbright, Cambridge; Joseph Perkins, Cleveland; Carl Boesel, New Bremen; Murray Shipley, Cincinnati; Rev. A. G. Byers, Secretary, Columbus.

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RHODE ISLAND. (Term of Office, Six Years.)

George I. Chace, Providence, Chairman; William W. Chapin, Providence, Secretary; James M. Pendleton, Westerly; Thomas Coggshall, Newport; William H. Hopkins, Providence; Job Kenyon, River Point; Allen C. Mathewson, Barrington; Alfred B. Chadsey, Wickford; Stephen R. Weeden, Providence.

PENNSYLVANIA. (Term of Office, Five Years.)

G. Dawson Coleman, Lebanon County, President; Heister Clymer, Berks County; William Bakewell, Pittsburg; A. C. Noyes, Clinton County; George Bullock, Montgomery County; Francis Wells, Philadelphia; Mahlon H. Dickinson, Philadelphia; Diller Luther, M. D., Reading, Secretary; Andrew J. Ourt, M. D., Philadelphia, Statistician.

ILLINOIS. (Term of Office, Five Years.)

G. S. Robinson, Sycamore, President; J. C. Corbus, Mendota; J. M. Gould, Moline; J. N. McCord, Vandalia; W. A. Grinshaw, Pittsfield; Rev. Fred. H. Wines, Springfield, Secretary.

WISCONSIN. (Term of Office, Five Years.)

Andrew E. Elmore, Fort Howard, President; William W. Reed, M. D., Jefferson, Vice-President; Hiram H. Giles, Madison; Rev. H. C. Tilton, Janesville; Charles H. Haskins, Milwaukee; T. W. Haight, Madison, Secretary.

MICHIGAN. (Term of Office, Six Years.)

Charles I. Walker, Detroit, Chairman; Charles M. Croswell, Governor, *ex officio* member, Adrian; M. S. Crosby, Grand Rapids; Uzziel Putnam, Pokagon; Rev. George O. Gillespie, Grand Rapids; Henry W. Lord, Detroit, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT. (Term of Office, Five Years.)

Benjamin Stark, New London, Chairman; Samuel F. Jones, Hartford; Dr. H. W. Buel, Litchfield; Mrs. Jennie P. Hoyt, Stamford; and Miss Lucy Alsop, Middletown.

Six of these State Boards of Charities are represented in the Conference, as follows:—

Massachusetts, by Charles F. Donnelly.

New York, by Charles S. Fairchild, Attorney-General, *ex officio* member; John V. L. Pruyn, President; W. P. Letchworth, Vice-President; Mrs. C. R. Lowell; Edward W. Foster; Theodore Roosevelt; John C. Devereux; and Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, Secretary.

Rhode Island, by George I. Chace, Chairman, and Thomas Coggshall.

Illinois, by J. N. McCord.

Wisconsin, by A. E. Elmore, Chairman, and Rev. H. C. Tilton.

Michigan, by Henry W. Lord, Secretary.

Other delegates representing kindred boards, associations, and institutions are also present, as follows :— .

Representing the New York State Charities Aid Association: Mrs. C. R. Lowell (President), Theodore Roosevelt (Vice-President), W. Gill Wylie, M. D., and Carl Pfeiffer.

Representing the New York Prison Association: Sinclair Tousey, R. L. Dugdale, and Elisha Harris, M. D. (Secretary).

Representing the Willard Asylum of New York: John B. Chapin, M. D.

Representing the St. Vincent's Home for Boys, New York: Rev. Father Drumgoole.

Representing the Superintendents of the Poor for the State of New York: George Clark of Orleans County, New York.

Representing the House of the Good Shepherd, Utica: Dr. L. A. Tourtellot.

Representing the Commissioners of Charity of Kings County, New York: Dr. Thomas P. Norris.

Representing the State Charities Aid Association of Brooklyn, New York: Mrs. Gordon L. Ford.

Representing the State Industrial School of Connecticut: Henry D. Smith and Rev. Thomas K. Fessenden.

Representing the State Primary School of Massachusetts: Rev. J. H. Bradford.

Representing the Charity Registration Society of Boston: Rev. Henry F. Jenks.

Representing the New Hampshire Insane Asylum: Dr J. P. Bancroft.

Representing the Hartford Orphan Asylum: Mrs. H. K. Potwin and Mrs. J. S. Potwin.

Representing the Department of Out-door Poor, Washington, D. C.: William Stickney and William S. Stickney.

Representing the Philadelphia Board of Guardians: Charles E. Cadwalader, M. D.

Representing the St. Louis Street Boys' Home: W. A. Bacon.

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE PRESENT.

F. B. Sanborn, Concord, Mass.; Hon. Henry Barnard, Hartford, Ct.; Dr. John Ordronaux, Lunacy Commissioner of New York; Rev. William Henry Channing, Boston, for several years a resident of Lon-

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don, England; Mrs. Marcus Spring, Perth Amboy, New York; Mr H. C. Talman and Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, Boston.

COMMITTEES.

We would recommend that the order of business set forth in the printed programme of this Conference be followed, except when changed by special vote of the Conference. For the work of the ensuing year, we would recommend the same number of committees as at present, but with many changes of membership, as follows:—

1. A Committee on Insanity, for which we would recommend Dr. J. S. Conrad, Catonsville, Md.; Dr. Diller Luther, Reading, Penn.; Dr. W. W. Reed, Jefferson, Wis.; Rev. F. H. Wines, Springfield, Ill.; Dr. Pliny Earle, Northampton, Mass.; and Dr. H. B. Wilbur, Syracuse, N. Y.

2. A Committee on Public Buildings for the Dependent Classes, for which we would recommend Dr. W. G. Wylie, New York; H. H. Giles, Madison, Wis.; J. N. McCord, Vandalia, Ill.; F. B. Sanborn, Concord, Mass.; Frederick Law Olmsted, New York.

3. A Committee on Dependent and Delinquent Children, for which we would recommend Rev. H. C. Tilton, Janesville, Wis.; William P. Letchworth, Portageville, N. Y.; William A. Bacon, St. Louis; Charles L. Brace, New York; Thomas Coggeshall, Newport, R. I.

4. A Committee on Penal and Prison Discipline, for which we would recommend Z. R. Brockway, Elmira, N. Y.; Rev. Edward E. Hale, Boston, Mass.; Rev. J. L. Milligan, Pittsburg, Penn.; Joseph Perkins, Cleveland, O.; Charles H. Haskins, Milwaukee; Thomas S. Wilkinson, Baltimore, Md.; Francis Wayland, New Haven, Ct.

5. A Committee on Statistics and Legislation, for which we would recommend Dr. A. J. Ourt, Philadelphia; Dr. Charles S. Hoyt, Albany, N. Y.; Carroll D. Wright, Boston, Mass.; Rev. A. G. Byers, Columbus, O.; Charles F. Coffin, Richmond, Ind.; Rev. Augustus Woodbury, Providence, R. I.; T. W. Haight, Madison, Wis.

6. A Committee on Medical Charities, for which we would recommend Howard Potter, New York; Dr. Nathan Allen, Lowell, Mass.; Charles I. Walker, Detroit; Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, Philadelphia; Murray Shipley, Cincinnati; Dr. Henry B. Wheelwright, Taunton, Mass.; Henry E. Pellew, New York.

(Signed)

THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
F. B. SANBORN,
A. E. ELMORE,
GEORGE I. CHACE,
HENRY W. LORD,
Business Committee.

The report was accepted, and the several committees named were appointed, with power to fill vacancies and add to the number of members.

REPORTS FROM THE STATES REPRESENTED.

The Chairmen of the State Boards were called upon to make report concerning the public charities of their respective States. They complied with the request as follows :—

WISCONSIN

Was represented by its Chairman, Mr. A. E. Elmore, who read the following Report :—

Wisconsin had a population in 1840 of 30,945; in 1850, of 305,891; in 1860, of 775,881; in 1870, of 1,054,670; and in 1875, of 1,236,729. As a State, Wisconsin was twenty-nine years old on the fifth of last June, and since 1850, has expended for penal and charitable institutions, \$6,000,000. Wisconsin has two insane hospitals: the Wisconsin Hospital, located at Madison, had, on the first day of August, 1877, 376 patients; the Northern Hospital at Oshkosh had on that day 554 patients. The Wisconsin Institution for the Education of the Blind, located at Janesville, has completed its new buildings, in the place of those burned, at a cost of \$160,000, and had, in 1876, an average of sixty pupils. The Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, located at Delevan, had last year an average of 145 pupils. The Industrial School for Boys at Waukesha, had on the first of August last, 361 pupils. The State prison is located at Wau-pun. The first appropriation for its erection was made in 1851, and a main building and one wing were completed soon after. In 1871 an additional wing was built, but our numbers have been so few that it has never been used as a prison. In 1871 there were confined therein an average of 202 convicts; in 1872, 201; in 1873, 180; in 1874, 203; in 1875, 240; in 1876, 261; and on the first day of August last, 282. Besides the State prison, there is in Milwaukee County, a house of correction, where all classes of criminals may be sent. On the first of

August there were confined therein 107 persons, most of them for short terms of from five to thirty days; one was received on that day sentenced for ten years for arson. Of this number, thirty-eight would have been sent to State prison had there been no house of correction, and this, added to the number in the State prison, makes a total of 320 convicts. Compared with adjoining States, Wisconsin has less than one-half as many criminals in confinement according to her population, and if justice is as rigorously administered within her borders as among her neighbors, she must have a better people.

The State Board of Charities are having a great deal of work done this year. Of the sixty counties of the State, more than fifty have been visited, and their jails and poorhouses thoroughly examined. Before the close of the year every county will have been visited at least once, and many of them several times. Great improvements have been made in our jails and poorhouses since the State Board of Charities began their visits. The pressing want of Wisconsin, at this time, is a suitable place for the chronic insane, 300 of whom are now in our poorhouses and jails. Last winter a law was enacted, directing the State Board of Charities to ascertain and report to the Legislature, next winter, the number of feeble-minded or idiotic children in the State, with the view of taking measures for their improvement. This is now being done.

We had in Wisconsin a Soldiers' Orphan Home; over 600 participated in its benefits from 1866 to 1876. The Legislature of 1876 gave it to the State University, and the Legislature of last winter made a small appropriation for those still needing assistance. At Madison, the capital of the State, is the State University, complete in all its parts, and connected with the model farm of the State. The University, though young in years, bids fair to equal any college in the Eastern States. Wisconsin has four Normal Schools: at Platteville, Grant County; Whitewater, Walworth County; Oshkosh, Winnebago County; and River Falls, Pierce County. The denominational and private colleges and institutions of learning in the State are doing much for our educational interests, and our common schools are fully up with the times in every respect.

Young as is our State, we feel proud of her benevolent, educational, and penal institutions—second to none in our land.

RHODE ISLAND

Was represented by Professor George I. Chace, Chairman of the Board of State Charities and Corrections, who spoke as follows:—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I come from a State so limited in territory that the statistics of crime, pauperism, and insanity furnished by it have little significance. They do not afford a basis broad enough for any general conclusions. So far as they go, they correspond very closely with those of Massachusetts. I made a general statement in regard to the condition of our correctional and charitable institutions a year ago. No important changes have since taken place. The want of a suitable school for the children in the State and county almshouses remains to be supplied.

The functions of the Board of State Charities and Corrections in Rhode Island differ materially from the functions of the corresponding Boards in other States. The Board is charged with the duties and clothed with the powers vested in the other larger States in two distinct organizations; namely, a Board of State Charities and a Board or Boards of Trustees, the former with supervisory, the latter with executive functions. The small area of our State makes such a combination of duties in a single Board not only possible but every way advantageous. It secures greater unity and efficiency in the management of the State institutions; it makes one body of men, instead of two or more bodies, responsible for their healthy condition; and finally, it escapes the misunderstandings and difficulties which are always liable to arise, when two Boards with different powers are placed over the same institution.

The Rhode Island Board of State Charities and Corrections has the immediate charge of the charitable and correctional institutions of the State, and last winter a bill passed the Legislature enlarging its powers so as to take in the penal institutions. It appoints all officers, and carries on the institutions independently of any other Board, and is directly and solely responsible for their good management. There is an important feature of the new law which, in connection with the proximity of the different institutions, will enable the Board to classify and grade

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offenders to a greater extent than has hitherto been possible. The provision is as follows: "The Board may cause any person sentenced to the jail in the county of Providence, whenever in their opinion it shall be for the interest of the State, and of such sentenced person, to be removed with the mittimus committing him thereto, to the State workhouse, there to remain until the expiration of the term of sentence stated in the mittimus. And every person sentenced to such workhouse, or removed thereto in the manner above provided, who shall escape or attempt to escape therefrom, may be returned thereto, and shall on conviction of such escape, or attempt to escape, be imprisoned in such workhouse not less than six months, nor more than twelve months, in addition to the previous sentence. The Board may cause any inmate of the State workhouse and house of correction, who shall be deemed by them to be a dangerous or unfit person to remain therein, to be removed with the mittimus committing him thereto, to the jail in the county of Providence, there to remain until the expiration of the term of commitment stated in the mittimus." The judicious exercise of this power by the Board will place offenders confined in the jail under additional inducements to good behavior, while it will serve to deter unruly inmates of the workhouse from acts of violence and other misconduct.

The men in the workhouse are, to a very considerable extent, graded by the employments to which they are put, and the amount of liberty allowed to them. The policy adopted is to trust every man just so far as he will let you trust him; to throw upon him, as far as is compatible with safety, the responsibility of his conduct, and thus strengthen his power of self-government. It is better to err occasionally in giving too much liberty than to keep all under rigid confinement. Bolts and bars have little tendency to improve habits or build up character.

We have at present between one hundred and two hundred men engaged in different occupations on the farm. Some work in gangs under the immediate supervision of an officer. Others have the freedom of hired men, and are trusted with teams on every part of the farm. Still others go for supplies, or drive guests to the city. A few it is found necessary to keep within the yard walls. Most of them, however, after the experience of a month or two at breaking stone, are ready to give assurances

of good behavior, if allowed to exchange their unattractive occupation for work in the open field.

The Board has been enlarged to meet the additional labor and responsibility imposed upon it. Including the Secretary, it consists of nine members. It is divided into committees, to each of which certain details of management are intrusted, while all questions of general policy come before the entire Board.

Mrs. DALL of Boston asked the following question: How many persons come under the charge of this Board of nine?

Prof. CHACE said: Counting the inmates of all the institutions, about eight hundred. I may add that only chronic cases are admitted to the Asylum for the Insane. The institution has thus far worked extremely well. Quite a number of persons, supposed to be incurable, and sent to us as such from the Butler Hospital, through the influence of time, and perhaps a large liberty, have recovered and left the asylum in apparent soundness of mind. The State institutions are situated in Cranston, about seven miles from Providence.

MICHIGAN.

Mr. Henry W. Lord, Secretary of the Board of Charities, responded in behalf of Michigan, and showed the successful efforts of that board in improving the condition of the jails and poor-houses. He gave an interesting account of the industrial school at Coldwater, for the children of destitution, conducted on the cottage plan, and aiming to secure homes for the pupils in families and on farms. The reform schools had had their discipline modified, and their walls torn down, with gratifying results. Their prison-like aspect had been changed, the bars removed from the windows, and the sentries replaced by monitors selected from the boys themselves. With every opportunity to run away, the boys were content to remain. Chair-bottoming, tailoring, and other industrial work was carried on in addition to study. Increased attention was also paid to the condition of the insane.

The State having had for the last twenty years one of the best insane asylums in the country, is now about completing a second, with all recent improvements. The two institutions will have together a capacity for 1,000 patients, which, it is thought, will be nearly sufficient for the wants of the State.

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The Legislature, at its last session, passed a law, making all the indigent insane a State charge after the counties shall have borne the expense for two years. It is expected that the effect of this will be to clear the poorhouses of this very miserable class.

MARYLAND.

Dr. J. S. Conrad, Superintendent of the Maryland Hospital for the Insane, stated that as yet Maryland had not succeeded in organizing a State Board of Charities. Governor Carroll had lately appointed Dr. Chancellor, of the State Board of Health, to visit and report on the condition of the reformatories, prisons, and almshouses of the State. The results had been given to the public. Dr. Conrad quoted from the report of Dr. Chancellor passages showing a frightful condition of things. The indigent insane, according to the report, were distributed among jails and almshouses, with scarcely any provision made for their wants; the almshouses were quite neglected, "the inmates being huddled together without discrimination of age, sex, or condition, and commingling in unrestrained licentiousness." The prisons were equally objectionable, and were characterized as "seminaries of crime, where purity itself could not escape contamination." The reformatories were not calculated to attain their desired results. Dr. Conrad said he could indorse the statements of this report. He had accompanied Dr. Chancellor in his visits, and had seen for himself the state of things described. The public attention is now thoroughly aroused upon the subject, and he expected to see the dawn of better things. Already the reports that have been received from many of the almshouses visited, indicate a spirit of improvement, heretofore unknown.

ILLINOIS

Was represented by J. N. McCord, M. D., a member of the Board of Charities, who said:—

The State Board of Public Charities of Illinois was created by an Act of the Legislature, approved April 9, 1869. This Act made it the duty of the Board to visit *twice* each year all the correctional and charitable institutions in the State, and also to visit the almshouses and jails *once* each year; reporting to the Governor yearly, and to the Legislature biennially. Our Board

for several years endeavored to carry out the provisions of the Act by visiting the county almshouses and jails, and had no doubt that good resulted from this visitation, as shown in the improved condition of many almshouses and jails. But we found that it required so much of our time, that we were compelled to give up the visitation of counties to our Secretary. The Board still continues to visit the State institutions twice each year.

By a recent Act of our Legislature, there are only nine State institutions made subject to our supervision; to wit, three insane hospitals, an institution for the deaf and dumb, an institution for the blind, an asylum for feeble-minded children, a soldiers' orphans' home, a reform school, and an eye and ear infirmary. Our Legislature during the past winter has made an appropriation for building another insane hospital, which, when completed, will increase the accommodation for patients to the extent of about 1,600 in all the hospitals—about half the estimated number of insane in our State. During the past year the new building for feeble-minded children, at Lincoln, has been completed. It is now occupied, and is capable of accommodating about 300 children.

Our Board early secured the services of Rev. F. H. Wines as Secretary, and we flatter ourselves that he is second to none in the country. In fact, the Legislature sometimes say he is the Board of Public Charities. By his untiring efforts in that direction, he has succeeded in establishing a most complete and perfect system of keeping the accounts in the various institutions. Our Board for several years has been required by the Governor to examine the estimates made by the different institutions, of appropriations for running expenses, and for special appropriations also, and pass judgment as to the proper amounts which should be allowed by the Legislature; and, in most instances, the Legislature has closely followed our recommendations. By an Act of April 15, 1875, no money, either on ordinary or special appropriation, shall be paid out for the benefit of any institution except upon the warrant of the auditor, and the auditor cannot draw his warrant except upon an order of the board of trustees of the several institutions, which must be accompanied by a certificate from the Board of Public Charities, and approved by the Governor. So our Board have all the

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vouchers from the various institutions to examine, and if found correct to approve, before the money can be drawn from the treasury. We feel warranted in saying that our State has saved thousands of dollars in the last few years, through the efforts of the Board in securing a more economical outlay of money in the current expenses of our State institutions.

I feel warranted, also, in saying, that our Board, although paid only for actual travelling expenses, has rendered to the State invaluable service since its organization; and I may add, that whatever efficiency the Board has shown, has been greatly promoted by the indefatigable labors of our most excellent Secretary.

MASSACHUSETTS.

The accredited delegates of the Massachusetts Board (its Chairman, Dr. Allen, being detained in Lowell by official business) were Hon. Moses Kimball of Boston and Sidney Andrews, the Secretary. Neither of these being present, Mr. C. F. Donnelly of Boston, a member of the Board, was the only official representative from Massachusetts. When the State was called in its order, Mr. Donnelly being temporarily absent, it was passed over. At a later period in the session, Mr. F. B. Sanborn, a former chairman of the Massachusetts Board, being requested to report for that State, did so, briefly, as follows:—

Mr. Chairman, I ought to say, in behalf of the Board of Charities in my State, that Dr. Allen, its Chairman, would have been here to-day, had not his official duties, as a pension examiner, kept him at his office in Lowell. Mr. Donnelly, a former colleague of mine, is in Saratoga, and will be here this afternoon. Mr. Andrews, the Secretary, has not notified the Committee of his intended absence, and so, it is to be presumed, he will be here. In their absence, I ought not to report for them, being no longer a member of the Board; but, as a "friend of the family," I may say a few words, since it is desired that Massachusetts should be heard from. My own connection with the Board ceased last year, after being continued, off and on, for about thirteen years, during six of which I was Secretary, and for two years Chairman. I succeeded the late Dr. Howe in that office, and my immediate successor, Mr. Edward Earle of Worcester, died in office last May, since when Dr. Allen, who was Chairman

in 1864-5, has been re-elected, and has consented to serve. In accordance with the recommendation of the Board made to the Legislature last winter, a commission has been appointed to revise the laws under which our penal and charitable affairs are managed, and one of these new commissioners, Dr. Estes Howe, will be present during some of the sessions of this Conference. It is hoped that the reorganization of the Board of Charities itself, which this commission will probably recommend, will be adopted, in such a form as to give the Board the power which it now lacks, to secure economy and efficiency in the whole charitable administration of Massachusetts. This is now very complex, and in some respects wanting in responsibility and thoroughness. The Board of Charities has accomplished much, but it has not been able to do everything, and there have been, of late years, some serious abuses at the Tewksbury Almshouse, at the Westborough State Reform School, and elsewhere, which the Board could not directly remove. They have been investigated and exposed, however, and the worst of them are now removed.

The worst of these evils were in the management of the pauper insane, and in the extravagant outlay of money upon buildings for their reception. The deaths among the insane poor at Tewksbury have been reduced from fifty or sixty a year in 1874-5, to about twenty a year in 1877; in other words, the death-rate is not much more than a third part so large now as it was in 1875, when the Board of Charities exposed the abuses there. These abuses sprang from neglect and ignorance, more than from wanton disregard of duty, and they are now wholly at an end, if I may judge by the excellent condition in which Dr. Allen and I found the insane asylum at Tewksbury, at a visit which we made there within the last fortnight. Something has been done, too, by the Board, to improve the general classification of the 2,500 insane persons who come under the care of the State, and this will appear when the costly new hospitals at Worcester and Danvers are once in full operation. That at Worcester will be opened in October, that at Danvers next winter or spring. In consequence of the discussion of this matter by the Board of Charities, more intelligent views now prevail in Massachusetts in regard to buildings for the indigent insane. The costly edifices of recent erection have been justly con-

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demned by public opinion, and there is now no danger that any further indulgence in this particular folly of building for the poor establishments only adapted to the wealthiest nobles of Europe, would be tolerated by the people or by the Legislature of Massachusetts.

REPORTS FROM DELEGATES.

The State Boards of Charities represented in the Conference having thus reported, opportunity was given to the delegates from other boards, institutions, and associations to address the Conference relative to their work.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, representing The State Charities Aid Association of New York, made the following report of its work :—

I am somewhat embarrassed at this hour in being called upon to answer for this association. Professor Dwight and Dr. Potter were expected to be here and speak for it, and these gentlemen not having as yet arrived, I, at the last moment, have been requested to state what the work of the association has been.

The organization is simply auxiliary in character, and aims, so far as it is possible, to aid the State organization. Its standing committees devote their attention to special subjects, and its county committees visit the county institutions. It is the desire of the association to have visiting committees in every county in the State, and this working force is almost now complete, so that the association has its representatives in almost every county.

The standing committees, for instance, take up such subjects as "Dependent Children," more interesting, perhaps, than any other; for children are pre-eminently those whom we can save to society. The question stares us all in the face, How can we best take care of them?

Family Homes for Children.—Such children should be well cared for. Our committee on this subject feel that it is not the best treatment to place them in institutions. Children brought up in institutions are rarely so well able to take care of them-

selves as they would be if they had received family training. The influence of a family is the most desirable for the child ; and when I say *family*, I do not mean, necessarily, the best family, for even a moderately good family influence is better than that of a very good institution.

Able-bodied Paupers.—The subject of able-bodied paupers is under the consideration of another of the standing committees. This class has increased immensely in numbers, and how to treat them efficiently is the problem that our Legislature will be called upon next winter to decide. The tramp must be made to work. To effect this, long sentences in the case of the habitual tramp will be indispensable ; because, having through long periods of idleness become accustomed not to work, he is sure to require a greater time before he can learn how to work.

In our own city poorhouse, we can almost say, now, that able-bodied paupers are unknown. The theory of our poorhouse is, that it is for the benefit of those who are, either from old age or decrepitude, unable to take care of themselves ; but the able-bodied pauper has no right to be there,—he properly belongs in the workhouse.

Hospitals.—The association feel that their efforts have already borne fruit in their hospital work. The Training School for Nurses, in connection with Bellevue Hospital, which is now in successful operation, owes its existence to the labors of this organization. Instead of having the patients cared for as formerly by workhouse women (who are described by Dr. Wood as actually drinking the alcohol in which his specimens were preserved, and some of whom had put an end to their lives by drinking medicines that happened to be prepared in alcohol), the present training-school nurses are selected from those who desire to make this their profession, and are sought for in case of serious illness in our own families. Charity Hospital, under the charge of the Commissioners of Charities and Correction, which was also cared for by these same workhouse women, has followed the example of Bellevue, in having a training school of its own. The moral gain has been very great.

Out-door Relief.—This subject has also received attention. It had been the habit for the city of New York to give largely to those who were supposed to be the poor, but who, in many cases,

proved to be the friends of the politicians. The question as to how this money should best be distributed, so as to reach the worthy poor, was for a long time a knotty one. It is now the deliberate opinion of our Board that it is not desirable to give any out-door relief through the ordinary official channels.

The question came up the winter before last with regard to the casual wards in New York City. A committee was appointed to examine into the subject, and determine how many of those who were tramps in the summer were in the habit of regularly sleeping in our station-houses in winter. These were called "revolvers," because they were not allowed to spend but one or two nights a month in each station-house. This rule, however, did not hurt them much, for we had just enough station-houses to provide for them by this system of revolving, which gave to them their distinctive name. These places were filthy in the extreme. The casuals slept on planks, of which there were two tiers. The atmosphere was so foul that it made the policemen, who occupied another part of the building, sick. The attention of the Chief of Police was at length drawn to it, and he finally decided that all habitual tramps or "revolvers" should be sent away to the workhouse. The number of this class was immediately reduced; so much so, that in one week it fell off from eight hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty.

Newspapers for Hospitals.—The association has also organized a system to collect newspapers from passengers travelling on the cars. These have been gathered and distributed among the different hospitals. They have proved a great source of pleasure to those receiving them, while they otherwise would have been destroyed.

Tenement Houses.—Pamphlets have also been written with regard to the dwellings of the poor. The city of New York is, perhaps, more cursed by tenement houses than any other, and knowledge should be spread with respect to the best means of building dwellings not only adapted to the poor, but of such a character as would be remunerative to the builders.

Hospital Visiting.—Pamphlets on the subject of hospital visiting have also been prepared by the association. Visitors need to be instructed in their work. It is not sufficient that they are benevolent; they must be fitted for their labors by judicious pre-

paratory instruction. It has been customary to regard charity as the giving of alms; but, in fact, this is a very questionable form in which to bestow it. We should seek rather to raise the self-respect of the poor by counsel and sympathy; simply to educate them into asking for money, is not only an encouragement to pauperism, but is a serious injury inflicted upon the poor, in the loss of their self-respect.

In conclusion, attention should be called to the extreme need of civil-service reform in the management of our public charities. So long as the attendants, matrons, physicians, and wardens receive their positions as rewards to political friends, without regard to their unfitness for the places, there is no hope that our public charities can be properly conducted.

Mr. R. L. DUGDALE, reported on behalf of the Prison Association of New York, on the progress of prison reform in the State. He spoke very commendingly of the improvements effected in the prisons since the appointment of Superintendent L. D. Pilsbury, and of the importance of the statute passed by the last Legislature, embodying the method known as that of *indeterminate sentence* for such prisoners as are committed to the Elmira Reformatory; which law vests in the Board of Managers of that institution the power to decide whether the conduct of any convict entitles him to the maximum or the minimum time which the law affixes to the crime committed.

Mr. W. A. BACON of St. Louis gave an interesting account of a work inaugurated and carried on by him in that city, for the benefit of the "little men of the street," which resulted in the establishment of the "Street Boys' Home," which had worked admirably. It was intended to be but a stepping-stone to the family.

Rev. THOMAS K. FESSENDEN, of the Industrial School for Girls, at Middletown, Ct., spoke on the aims and objects of that institution. Its main feature was that of a private charity, aided by the State. Experience had taught him that this was the only true principle for such organizations. The trustees had found the value of this policy in conducting its affairs, and had always adhered to it. He disapproved of State schools, but earnestly advocated private charities aided by the State.

Rev. J. H. BRADFORD of the Massachusetts State Primary

School, said he represented a new institution for the poor children of the State, who, till within a few years, were neglected and mingled in with paupers. Now, however, they were separated, the law saying the children shall not be designated as paupers, or allowed to associate with them; and in this institution were educated at the State's expense and transferred to suitable families at an early date. He was in accord with the sentiments uttered this morning, that an institution is no place for a child if it is possible to get it into a family. Yet institution life is often very necessary to prepare a child for a family. Children should be trained to get their own living in the world. He considered large institutions for this class unwise, the inmates being in danger of losing their individuality. All children needed to grow up with an idea of responsibility to both God and man, and this was best instilled into their minds by the performance of those little duties which family life imposes upon each member. One good feature of the law of Massachusetts was, that no child could be tried for any crime without the presence of a person representing the State Board of Charities. In many instances the disposal of the child is referred to this representative, who frequently recommends a committal to the State Primary School. In this way many a youthful offender is saved from a career of crime. The services of ladies in visiting institutions were highly commended, and the importance of pure air and sunlight as a sanitary and reformatory measure strongly urged by Mr. Bradford.

Rev. Father DRUMGOOLE of the St. Vincent's Home for Boys, New York, next addressed the Conference, on the importance of cultivating the heart of the homeless child. Millions, he said, may be spent upon him in vain, unless this result is accomplished. The heart is the battle-field where salvation must be won or lost. Its vices must be eradicated before anything can be made of the neglected child. His own efforts, he said, were directed towards infusing into the boy a spirit of independence, and making him realize the fact that he can become an industrious member of society. He endeavored to fill the place of the good parent, aiming to bring the child up by kind words and kind actions. He had never, in his seven years' experience, met a child who could not be reclaimed by this course. Some

of his boys are now occupying situations of trust, who had been among the worst in New York City, but had been reformed in the St. Vincent's Home for Boys. His counsel to all, whether Catholic or Protestant, would be : Take possession of the heart of the boy, purge it and purify it. If you have done this, you have saved the child ; if not, you have accomplished very little in the way of reform. The State, he thought, had acted very wisely in endeavoring to place this class of children, as far as possible, under the religious teachings of their parents. It would be gratifying to the brave heart of the soldier, rushing to die on the battle-field at the call of his country, to know that the State would take care of his children, and do for them what he would have done, had he lived. It would cheer him in his last hour as he yields up his life for the good of the nation. The State has been very wise in enacting such a law. If you want honest citizens, honest politicians, honest legislators, you must purify the heart by religious instruction.

Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, of the Registration of Charities, Boston, detailed the origin, workings, and future prospects of this organization. The constant overlapping of charities, and the imposition practised upon the benevolent, as well as the desire to reach and relieve the worthy poor, had rendered some such undertaking a necessity. This was the first year of its existence, but it had already rendered efficient aid to the cause of charity, and entered upon its second year with larger hopes of greater results.

During the session, Rev. WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING, who for several years has been preaching in London, was called on to speak in commemoration of the late Miss MARY CARPENTER, and the work of charity in England. He said :—

I was asked to call attention to the noble work of Miss Mary Carpenter, who has now passed from her labors here to a larger service above. She was, as you know, the daughter of a country clergyman. Well trained in the classics, and an artist of no mean pretensions, she was brought in contact with the lowest elements of life as a Sunday-school teacher, and early took an active interest in the ragged-school movement, which has done so much for the poorer classes of English society. She gave special attention to a work for the benefit of needy girls, which

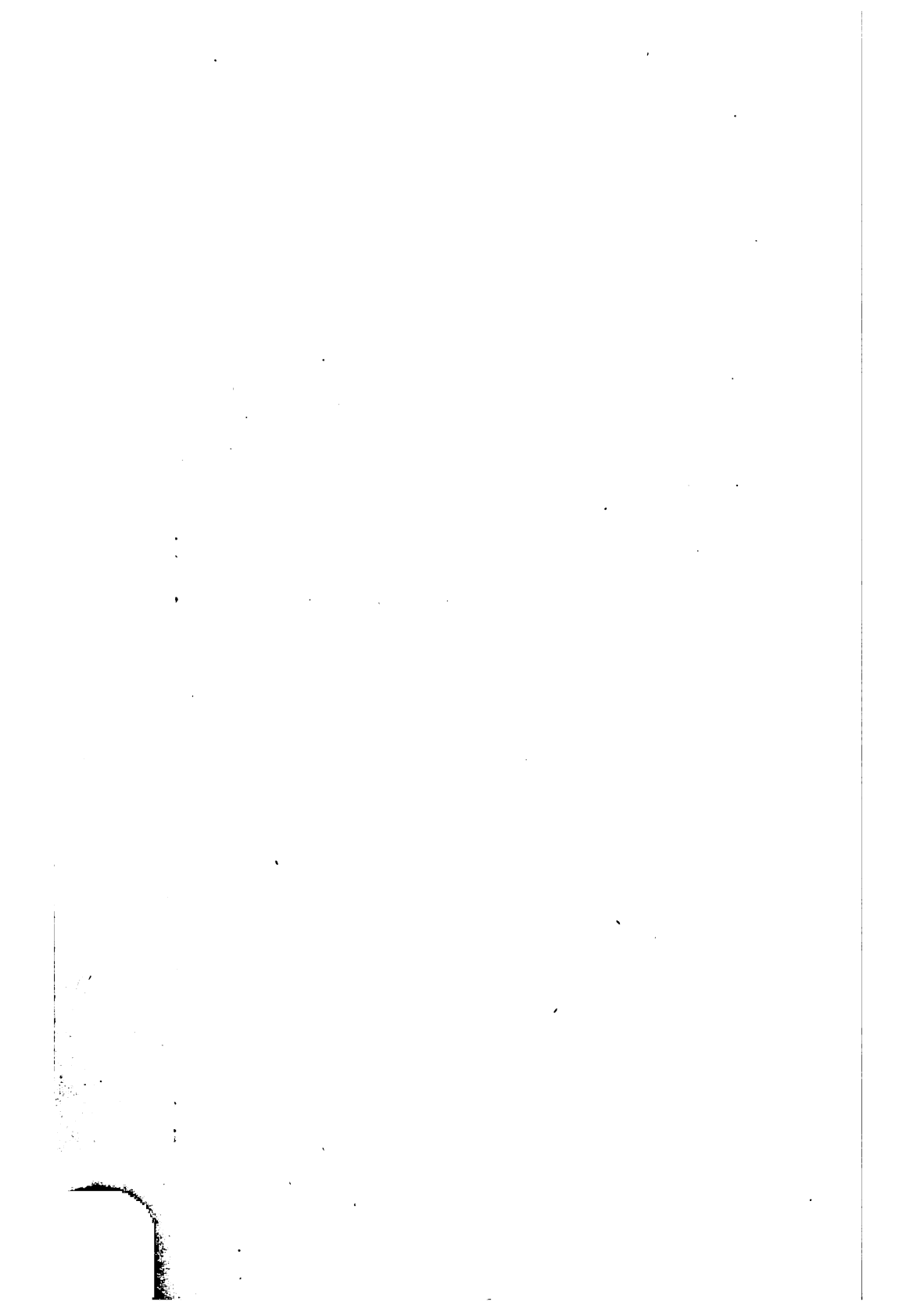
was pre-eminently successful. In this manner she went on, step by step, as Providence opened the way, and was rewarded in seeing statesmen and scholars sit at her feet and learn of her. Her example is encouraging to our sisters here to work in the ample field which spreads out before them all around.

I cannot but mention another most honored name in this connection,—that of Octavia Hill. I have had the distinguished privilege of sharing her friendship. She was in her early days simply a teacher. Her parents had seen more prosperous circumstances. While pursuing her vocation, she felt it absolutely necessary to go into the homes of the poor to teach the mothers. It seemed to be little better than mockery to teach children with any reasonable hope of success, while their homes were so wretchedly circumstanced. She sought to solve the problem, how to make proper homes for these children, and the person who gave her most aid, both by money and sympathy, was John Ruskin, one of the finest critics of art in Great Britain. How is it now? All England waits to hear the last words of Octavia Hill about the homes of the poor. I have travelled with her through one of the worst scenes of her labors, and have seen the wives and children whom she had redeemed; a more delightful company I never beheld. Her last act deserves mention. She has taken what was a very pest-house and a disgrace to London, and converted it into a place of recreation for the little children. The cemetery of St. Pancras, which only a short time ago was so loathsome to the community, has at length been redeemed and made into a beautiful garden.

I came home to study the progress of this good work in my own native land. And what do I hear? How is it possible that such tales as I have listened to to-day can be true of good America? I believe in charity to the uttermost, but what right has a tramp to tread upon the free streets of our cities, or on the free soil of our nation of industrious men? If those reports which have been made in my hearing to-day, should be narrated to a London audience, it would fill them with horror. London was once given up to pauperism and crime, but it is so no longer. The advances which have been made there are so great, that I would scarcely dare tell you, lest you might think I was drawing on my imagination. These were effected simply by

bringing to bear upon the work that strong common-sense, and that indomitable energy, which characterize our cousins abroad. But what is our condition? Under the garb of self-indulgence, the rich have set an example of being tramps on a large scale. It is the loafers who are rich that make the loafers who are poor. We must understand, that if we are to meet the evil which presses on us on all hands, it must be by repenting. Great Britain has begun to understand that an aristocracy can only be tolerated on one ground, and that is by accepting the principle that he is greatest who serves the humblest. We are the stewards of God, and are expected to serve. We must return to the primary principle of our nation, and organize our townships according to the idea of a Christian commonwealth.

Upon the conclusion of the Reports and Addresses by delegates, some of which are only very briefly given above, the preliminary business of the Conference ended at the close of the morning session. In the pages which follow, numbered from 1 to 160, the regular Reports and Papers prepared upon invitation of the Committee of Arrangements are printed, with such revision as the writers have seen fit to make. The practice of dividing the work of a Standing Committee, and assigning different branches of the same subject to different members, or even to persons familiar with the matter who were not members of the Committee, has made the number of the Reports and Papers about double the number of the Committees. But the deep interest taken by the Conference in most of the subjects brought before it, and the large attendance upon its five subsequent sessions, showed that the topics treated were timely and important.



AFTERNOON SESSION.

At the opening of the afternoon session, at three o'clock, Prof. GEORGE I. CHACE of the Rhode Island State Board of Charities in the chair, the Standing Committee on Insanity presented the following report, through its Chairman, Dr. CHAPIN of the Willard Asylum.

REPORT.

The subject of *Insanity* is one of so broad a scope as to preclude its discussion in its various relations on an occasion like the one which calls us together. To the physician, insanity is a disease affecting the brain directly, and changing the usual and established manner of thinking and acting of the person affected. It is a disease to be treated, which has a period of incubation and development, ending in recovery or death, or passing into a chronic stage. It has symptoms which are appreciable to the physician and amenable to medical management, as well as pathological appearances which are said to be characteristic though not yet fully comprehended. By common assent, and in accordance with legal enactments, the professional and legal care and custody of the insane are committed to medical men.

While the physician may be able to advise proper medication to a patient affected with insanity at his own home, as in ordinary diseases, it is established by experience that medicaments are not alone essential to success in treatment. We are all, while in a state of health, influenced by our surroundings; so the disordered mind is susceptible to those impressions which are conveyed through the usual avenues to influence that subtle principle which we call the human mind. These must be supplied by art, natural scenery, and new surroundings, elsewhere than at the home of the patient.

Insanity so far changes the individual that he becomes an object of apprehension, and thus comes to hold a new relation to the community. He is no longer an ordinary invalid. Whether a crime has been committed, or whether the insane person be in a state to excite alarm for the safety of himself or those about him, the law, while it absolves him from punishment, deprives him of his personal liberty, and places him under custodial care, with or without his consent. He does not of his

own motion seek the door of the hospital, but, as a rule, enters it under protest and compulsion. Society, through its machinery, takes from him his liberty, and he is no longer an ordinary dependent.

Long before the insane were placed in asylums, under the care of medical men, they were deprived of their liberty because of the dread in which they were held. Crude rudimentary structures, remnants of a former system, now exist scattered over the country, used only for the purpose of keeping the insane in close custody. The responsibility of the community, in these cases, seems to have been regarded as fully discharged in the security against injury and damage which close confinement afforded.

The modern asylum and hospital for the insane, in one view, may be regarded as an outgrowth of Christianity, of an advanced civilization, and the embodiment of the benevolent sentiment of the community toward that class. From another, and, perhaps, more correct standpoint, it is an attempt to remedy by governmental action the defects and injustice of a former system, by combining a degree of restraint of personal liberty not inconsistent with its proper safeguards, with medical treatment and supervision best calculated to remove the disordered condition. Whatever may appear in a community as the result of voluntary offering and labor, the last and reluctant thing for it to do is to vote a tax for a charitable object, or from emotional and benevolent impulses. A municipality may eagerly vote to levy a tax for a local enterprise of a questionable character, which it is hoped will promote certain interests, or prove beneficial in some way. But the dependents upon a community, whether sane or insane, contribute little except toward its burdens. Taxation for buildings for their accommodation and for their support is grudgingly voted and expended, partly because all taxes are regarded by some in the light of levies, and because taxes of this nature are paid by one class for the support, by governmental action, of another class which is both unproductive and consuming.

Such as it is, the modern asylum for the insane may be said to be the embodiment of the benevolent sentiment of the community, and of medical ideas which should prevail in their arrangements and administration. It also represents the expenditure of a sum of money levied upon a tax-paying class for

building purposes, sometimes, however, misappropriated by a tax-consuming class for selfish and other purposes.

The public asylums of the United States are reported by Dr. Conrad of Baltimore to have cost (\$31,000,000) thirty-one millions of dollars, and afford accommodation for about (27,242) twenty-seven thousand two hundred and forty-two patients, or an average expenditure for construction account of one thousand one hundred and thirty-seven dollars (\$1,137) per patient. This does not include sums expended upon asylums now in course of construction, which would add largely to the above amount and average. The amount annually expended for the maintenance of the asylums may be estimated at (\$5,000,000) five millions—a sum which seventy-one millions would nearly produce at seven per cent. interest. The cost of support of the insane in the asylums may be estimated to be (\$4.96) four dollars and ninety-six cents per week, and including interest on first cost of preparing accommodations, five dollars and forty-eight cents (\$5.48). The statistics of Dr. Thurman show the average duration of the life of an incurable insane person to be eighteen years. The statistics of the Willard Asylum show this average to be eleven years. If we accept the medium as near the true average, it may be assumed that the direct total cost of supporting in an asylum, an insane person, who does not recover, but remains insane until death, will amount to the sum of thirty-six hundred dollars, excluding the interest on the original plant, and extraordinary repairs.

The sum expended for the support of the insane in asylums does not embrace the expenditure for the maintenance of the insane out of the asylums. The latter class constitute thirty-two per cent. of the whole number, and their maintenance may be estimated to amount to one million nine hundred thousand dollars, making a total amount annually expended for this purpose, throughout the United States, of six million nine hundred thousand dollars, nearly equal to the interest on one hundred millions of dollars at seven per cent.

Interests of so extensive a character, and so diversified in their nature, suggest questions which may profitably engage our attention; namely, the relation of insanity to medicine and its pathology; the extent to which medical ideas should prevail in the construction of asylums; the supervision and responsi-

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bility in their management; what should be the style of accommodation, the expenditure for construction, and the standard of care to be maintained for the insane of the dependent classes.

INSANITY IN ITS MEDICAL AND PATHOLOGICAL RELATIONS.

The pathology of so-called mental diseases is still a subject of speculation. In this department of investigation the point beyond which progress is arrested seems to be quickly reached. Partly from convenience and to save trouble, and from analogy, we are in the habit of stating that insanity is a physical disease. It has been stated by high medical authority, that "in a perfect state of things, where the best appliances which the science and skill of the age have provided for healing are offered to the lunatics in as early a stage of their malady as they are to those who are attacked with fever or dysentery, probably eighty, possibly ninety, per cent. would be restored." It has not been unusual to produce this statement, and others similar to it, in annual reports of asylums, and in memorials presented to legislatures for the purpose of influencing action. While the statement, with the important qualification introducing it, may be correct, it is well to compare it with actual results to understand how far we are from that desirable, but unattainable, goal,—“a perfect state of things” in respect to the “cure” of the insane. It is also essential that the public, and individuals called upon to act officially, may be properly and thoroughly informed, in order that whatever may be undertaken in the care of the insane may be accomplished effectively and upon a broad and comprehensive basis.

RECENT TENDENCIES OF PATHOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS.

It will be conceded that animal and vegetable growth are dependent upon germinal forces. The animal differs from the vegetable in the possession of instincts, and man, again, differs from the rest of the animal creation in the possession of qualities which exalt him above all created things,—qualities which relate him to the things of this world, and to an existence hereafter. From the germinal period growth proceeds, and under the influence of a persistent force there is addition of tissue and organ to adapt him to his more exalted sphere of existence. There is a system of elimination, circulation, and assimilation, a

system of nerves which relates the several organs to each other, and the systems to a common end. Through these nerves the mysterious agency is exerted to stimulate the several organs to the performance of their respective functions. The organs, while they have an office to perform, are subject to a law of life, growth, and decay, peculiar to themselves.

It cannot be asserted that the principle which is called vital force, under which nutrition and growth proceed, is identical with the subtle quality which we call the human soul or mind. Neither can we point out the identity or analogy, if any exists, between the force or energy which pervades the animal and vegetable kingdom. It may, however, be asserted that it exists and proceeds irrespective of the quality and quantity of mind, and that the human frame represents rather the result of certain activities or forces, which are transmitted with all the peculiarities of inheritance, influenced and modified by hygienic causes, food, occupation, social relations, etc.; the outcome of which is an indefinite variety of development and growth — the culmination of which is death — an order of cell growth resulting in a state of the human constitution which we call health, or a state antagonistic to the continuance of life, both conditions proceeding by laws as certain and immutable.

When we consider the mysterious relation of germinal force to the physical organization, the relation of the mind to the body, and the relation of the spiritual essence to man's future existence, the difficulties in the way of our advance in knowledge in this department seem to be insurmountable, and we are led to the reflection: Can man, in his earthly state, hope to rise above his plane to the level of his Creator, to solve the problem!

We use the terms health and disease as relative terms, the latter of which signifies a state of abnormal functional action, an altered nutrition, or an organic change. It is in these changes, and to place a proper estimate upon them in the production of insanity, or as one of the results, that active investigation is now directed. While the microscope, and its application to photography in the illustration of morbid products and appearances, have added much to our knowledge of their nature, and of the fact that disease existed in some cases, yet the value of the knowledge gained to the cause of science, and to the treatment of disease, is not determined. The tendency, never-

theless, exists to found anew a system of mental pathology based upon appearances observed after death, or, to show that insanity is in all cases attended by change in the material substance of the brain, and, as a consequence, results from causes called *physical*, as distinguished from moral and psychical causes. There must be a due caution exercised in accepting inferences based wholly upon post-mortem appearances. The great majority of acute mental and brain disturbances have their origin in the character and quality of the blood, or in the circulatory apparatus. In fevers, the delirium is ascribed to the presence in the blood of effete and excrementitious matter which is not eliminated from the circulation. Delirium, and other mental disturbances, may also proceed from a deficient supply of blood to the brain. In puerperal mania the disease results from reflex disturbance and exhaustion. Deficiency in the constituent elements of the blood results in mental hebetude and depression. Acute mania, and maniacal delirium, may occur from loss of sleep, physical exhaustion, and shock. Hysteria, perversion of the will-power, suicidal propensities and impulses amounting to a perversion of the instinct of self-preservation, and analogous disturbances of an obscure character, are sometimes ascribed wholly to reflex disturbance. There are also changes in the normal circulation of the blood within the brain, resulting in congestion, anæmia, and œdema of the brain, which conditions may produce mental disturbance amounting to insanity.

All of these causes and conditions, as medical writers have fully pointed out, are operative to produce mental disorders and insanity which may issue in recovery, or be grave enough to involve life. They are the cases of insanity which figure largely in hospital reports among the recoveries. They are the cases which, promptly transferred to a hospital, recover, and sometimes recover without hospital treatment. A large percentage of recoveries come from this class of cases.

Here it is not possible to verify the pathological condition by any examination of brain structure after death. Physiology, therapeutics, and chemistry furnish a partial explanation of the symptoms. It may be said of these cases, and of the cases which terminate fatally, but where "it is impossible after death to discover structural alteration," that they are instances of functional disease, or, "of a condition that merely leaves no

alteration of structure after death." The cases of so-called functional disturbance or disease, are instances of the interruption, suspension, or impairment of the controlling vital force, which we cannot hope to comprehend while the nature of it remains an unsolved problem, depending upon some interference with the nutrition of the brain. They are cases in which the pathological state exists during life. In these cases, it is probable we must look for progress rather to physiology, therapeutics, chemistry, and the study and comparison of cases, than to the revelations of the microscope.

The majority of the insane are not likely to, and, as a matter of fact, do not recover. They are cases where the early acute stage is attended with severe inflammatory symptoms, resulting in subsequent and consequent injury to brain structure,—epilepsy, paralysis from various causes, accompanied with mental failure; cases of gradual, progressive failure of the mind and transition to insanity, eccentricity passing into a state of insanity, etc. It is conceded that in a large number of these cases there are changes in the brain structure of a morbid character to be observed. Can the structural changes thus discovered be made the basis of a system of physical pathology of insanity, or do they follow as a sequence upon primary and antecedent conditions, being, in fact, results, secondary in their nature, and, so far, analogous to changes which take place in other organs of the body under similar circumstances? Is it probable the brain escapes the usual changes and results of inflammatory action and subsequent disorganization, and is it not probable that these changes exercise a marked influence upon the nutrition of the brain, and upon the functions of all the organs of the body dependent upon the brain for nervous stimulus?

As we have remarked, man's organization comprises an impelling, persistent, vital force, a nervous force, transmitted through the instrumentality of the nerves; that quality which we call mind; a spiritual essence; and a bodily tenement which represents the results of active forces, or of a certain order of nutrition and growth. The organs of the body engaged in assimilation, elimination, and, indeed, all the processes which conduce to nutrition, receive their stimulus through the nerves which are distributed to them. In the condition of the brain attended with

organic change there is an impairment of nervous force, resulting from interference with the circulation within the brain structure. The blood, also, is debased from deficient stimulus to the liver, kidneys, and organs engaged in digestion and distribution of blood, and there results from this cause, secondarily, a lowered nutrition. Under a state of lowered nutrition, we can understand that further structural changes may occur, as the cell changes which characterize the degenerations known to medical men as hypertrophy, atrophy or wasting, sclerosis or hardening, softening, etc. When death occurs, and the brain is subjected to examination after having passed through the various changes we have merely alluded to, are we to conclude the microscope does here reveal the true pathology of insanity? Is it not more correct to assume that the results of causes of physical degeneration of tissues, and of inflammatory action, are perceived such changes as those which take place under similar circumstances in other tissues and organs of the body? Can it yet be asserted that anything more positive than the evidence of the existence of diseased structure exists? And is it pretended there is such a uniformity of appearance as to enable the observer to associate any given condition with a particular form of insanity? What can be said of the value of appearances found in the brain structure of the insane, some of which are said to be found in the brain structure of persons not insane?

It is proper to notice in this connection the difficulty that arises in explaining by any theory of cell change, or pathology, those cases of eccentricity transmitted through successive generations with increasing intensity, culminating in insanity; or to explain those cases of sudden and intense psychical and emotional disturbance, which are on the border line; or to furnish an explanation of those cases of gradual change of character which result from indulgence in temper or passion; or of those influences of natural scenery which shape the mental development, and modify the character of individuals and whole communities; or of those physiognomical expressions which indicate in families and in individuals the approach and liability to the neuroses; or, lastly, of transmitted hereditary predisposition to insanity, which the excitement incident to approaching adult age will sometimes render active.

The action of the mind during sleep deserves a passing notice,

and has not received sufficient attention in studying the relation of cell change to mental operations in health and disease. The analogy that exists between the mental operations during dreams, and the disordered mental state of insanity, is quite marked. During the dream state volition is suspended, and hallucinations, delusions, incoherent and incongruous things, exist. What condition so closely resembling insanity can a sane person experience! Here the approach to the dream state is rapid, and the transition to a waking condition is instantaneous. There is no constitutional disturbance or morbid condition alleged to exist. Will it be said the dream state is a pathological condition, dependent upon organic physical or cell change? Or is it a state of psychical action; reflex cerebration during a suspension of volition, and not necessarily implying organic morbid change of structure?

In the judgment of the medical profession, further advance in our knowledge of the pathology of structural changes is best assured in the revelations which the microscope will furnish. While many observers are voluntarily and zealously engaged in working this promising field, the State of New York has deemed the matter of sufficient importance to authorize the employment of a special pathologist to examine structural changes in insanity. It must also be observed in this connection, that doubts have been expressed by medical authorities of the practical value of pathological deductions for purposes of practice and therapeutics, whatever other value they may come to have. It has been observed of the general practice of medicine, "that even the dazzling progress which pathology has made has been of little use to treatment; that, in spite of new discoveries, our present success at the bedside is scarcely more favorable than that of fifty years ago."

While we should not underestimate the enthusiasm of scientific research, and should promote, in all possible ways, every effort for the advancement of knowledge, we nevertheless express the conviction that nothing has yet appeared which should cause the profession to undervalue the knowledge to be acquired, in the interests of practice and treatment, from the careful observation of symptoms of disease; the comparative study of cases; the laws of hygiene; the tendencies, and deteriorating

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influences of ill-assorted marriages; and, finally, the study of preventive measures and means.

RESULTS: GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

For a period of forty years the modern asylums have been administered almost exclusively by medical men. Comparing the management and the condition of the insane at a previous period, it is demonstrated that great improvements have been made, and that medical men from their habits of thought, previous education, and knowledge of hygienic influences, are best adapted for their care. During this period, statistics have been collated, and principles of treatment and management established. The contributions to the literature of insanity, as well as the general progress made, compare favorably with those made to other departments of medicine and science.

The results of the modern asylum management, being an improvement upon the system preceding it, must be accepted as the best now attainable. It appears from an examination of reports of treatment in three American asylums, extending over a period of thirty years, that in the first asylum examined the percentage of recoveries to admissions for a decade ending with the year—

1856, was	43
1866, was	34
1876, was	35

In the second asylum examined, the per cent. of recoveries on admissions for the decade ending—

1856, was	44
1866, was	41
1876, was	41

In the third asylum, the same, for decade ending—

1856, was	42
1866, was	39
1876, was	35

In the English county, private, and borough asylums, the per cent. of recoveries on admissions for eight years, was	34
For ten years ending 1876,	34

The average percentage of recoveries on admissions in all the asylums examined was thirty-four, and is based on 207,896 admissions into the asylums of Great Britain and this country.

The probabilities of one hundred cases, based upon the above number of admissions, may be stated to be as follows: Thirty-four per cent. will recover; twenty-nine per cent. will die; thirty-six per cent. remain not recovered at the end of the year. It may be stated further, that a certain proportion of the cases reported recovered will relapse, have second attacks, and eventually die insane.

These statistics show results quite uniform, in the treatment of the insane, in different asylums, and under various systems, both in this country and in Great Britain. It also appears that, notwithstanding the advance of science, the percentage of recoveries during the last decade has not increased, but is not quite equal to that reported during the first decade.

Eighty-five per cent. of the insane appear to have had self-supporting occupations prior to the attack. Seventy per cent. become sooner or later a public charge. Before the attack of insanity these persons would not be classed as dependents, and belong chiefly to the middling classes. If we ascertain the disposition made of these cases, we will find that the greater proportion of the seventy per cent. are dependents as soon as the attack commences and must be provided for at once. These cases, in some of the States, are declared paupers, and are promptly sent to an asylum. The insane of the middling classes who possess some property, but not enough to support them, do not as a rule receive early treatment, but are retained at home, from month to month, in the hope of improvement,—eventually to become a life-long charge. Every locality has one or more of these sad cases,—cases which might have been restored if the proper means had been at hand, but which become a public charge through neglect, and drag down whole families to destitution.

The burden of the care of the insane of the independent class,

and of the insane of the middling classes retained at home, is usually concealed from public observation and excites no more public attention than private trials usually do. Even their number is concealed. Public officers startle the community with statistics of the increase of the insane. It is not established that the number of insane of the independent class is increasing, but the insane of the dependent class is undoubtedly increasing, — an increase in the State of New York amounting to one hundred per cent. at least, in the past twenty years, — a fact which need excite little surprise when we consider the disproportionate accommodation which exists for the treatment of recent cases and the policy which prevails. We presume a similar state of things exists in other populous Eastern States. While insanity seems to appear in all advanced communities, and may be said to be one of the accompaniments of civilization, it increases with the density of population in a rapid ratio that is not yet determined. A vigorous stock possesses greater resisting power, but in densely populated communities a deterioration of the stock, if we may be permitted to use an expressive phrase, is constantly going on, which seems to have less power to resist the invasion of disease.

No question will arise as to what should be done with the recent and curable cases. It will generally be conceded they should be sent to a hospital for treatment. The community which bears the expense has a direct pecuniary interest in the speedy recovery of the patient. The interests of the patient and of the community, in this respect, are identical. It is against the interests of humanity, society, and public policy to permit a curable case of insanity to lapse into incurability through lack of the means of restoration. The public mind should be constantly impressed with the importance of arresting and preventing the occurrence and propagation of insanity, and with the fact that it is the most economical thing to cut short the attack at the outset as promptly as the means can be applied.

With reference to the insane of the dependent class, and, particularly, of the middling class, who do not and will not recover, — being the majority of the whole number, — being reduced to dependence by extraordinary circumstances, and legally but forcibly deprived of liberty, and to become a public charge, public attention needs to be constantly aroused to

their wretched condition. Public sentiment needs to be enlightened toward the situation of these cases, and properly educated to a kindly and just appreciation of their wants, and what may be properly done for them, for it is not yet settled that a community will tax itself for the support of the dependent insane, year after year, on a standard of care above what the almshouse affords to the ordinary dependent.

In any system for the care of the insane a number of interests must be considered, among which are those that are professional or medical, financial, and philanthropic. In any structure proposed for the insane, there is a propriety in insisting that the medical idea shall prevail in the plan so far that it may be efficiently administered; that classification of patients may be secured; that a proper cubic space be allotted to each patient; that hygienic arrangements of the most approved character be provided; and that a medical idea shall pervade the administration of the establishment and control all its departments. Within these limits medical men may properly confine themselves, and insist that their views receive consideration, but the responsibility of applying them must devolve on the State. Whether asylum buildings ought to be constructed of stone, brick, or even of perishable material, if the State by its delegated authority should so direct, should not concern medical men so much as that the proper principles of hospital construction and management be recognized. As professional men, they may be pardoned if they adhere to their principles, and may even differ, but in respect to the other relations they hold to a public enterprise, they do not differ from those of other taxpayers, who, as a class, should always be prominently represented in a commission to build an asylum.

A question has arisen in the medical profession in regard to the care of the recent and chronic cases in separate establishments. For many years the insane poor had been received into the asylums of this country, and when the cases became chronic, the practice has been to transfer them to almshouses. The asylum becoming overcrowded by reason of the retention of old cases, and admissions of recent and curable cases, it was deemed to be the wiser policy to make room for the latter class by discharging the former, who necessarily drifted into the county almshouses. When this process was obstructed by exist-

ing statutes they have been repealed or amended, and generally on the representation and at the request of the asylum interest. This policy may have been humane, the wisest, and in the interest of the largest number of recent cases. The result, however, has been quite uniform, that in the populous States there has imperceptibly grown up a system of care of the insane in almshouses and jails, characterized by neglect, and sometimes by insufficiency, and with no redeeming feature in the estimation of any citizen except its extreme cheapness. We have had two systems, the asylum system for curable or recent cases, and the almshouse system for the chronic and incurables. It is not necessary to notice the almshouse system further than to point out the fact, that for several years these receptacles have received the chronic cases — that the law did sanction a distinction of the recent and chronic insane, long before the agitation of the question of separation of the two classes in the medical profession, and without a protest from it — that the policy has become intrenched by established usage — and that it has been the legitimate outgrowth of the policy pursued, whether so intended or not — so that the observation has become a universal one, that while a few are well provided for, the mass is crowded into the poorhouses and jails. While legislation and actual practice could not more effectually separate the recent and chronic cases than has been done, it does not appear that the subject of separation was discussed in the profession until a special effort was made to raise the standard of care for the chronic insane. Under these circumstances, it is not necessary to discuss a question which seems settled by law and by practice. It is a sufficient answer to the objections made to the separate care of the insane to insist that this is a social problem, and not wholly a professional question — and that, while the policy of discharging incurable lunatics and remanding them to the county almshouses prevails, no objection can be, or ought to be, made to a proposition looking to the elevation of the standard of care of the chronic insane above that of an almshouse. The question is sometimes discussed as if all the insane were in comfortable asylums, and the proposition were now made to remove them to institutions of a lower grade.

The opinion is expressed, that wherever the attempt is made to unite the care of the insane with sane paupers, under the

same administration, that the standard of care of both will gradually gravitate to the same level. If the asylum for the insane, in connection with the almshouse, be established on a *higher* grade than the almshouse, either the standard of administration of the almshouse will rise to that of the adjacent asylum, or the asylum will sink to the level of the almshouse. Bearing in mind the nature of pauperism that comes of insanity, and the peculiar helplessness that ensues, believing that persons thus afflicted should in some sense be regarded the wards of the State, we express the conviction, that the care of the insane should everywhere be disconnected with the associations and deteriorating influences of the almshouse, and the insane of this class be placed under governmental supervision.

The care of the insane involves a large expenditure of money, and the success of any general and comprehensive system will depend very much upon financial considerations. We observed in ascertaining the percentage of recoveries in different decades, that it has not been an increasing one, and that if any change was perceptible, in comparing one period with another, it was a decreasing one. The average cost per capita to construct asylum accommodation has been steadily increasing. For the decade ending 1876, it was forty-two per cent. greater than the previous decade, which embraced the period of the war. The cost of the asylums now in course of construction, but yet unfinished, is not included in the above statement, and can only be estimated. It is sufficiently established that the per capita cost of construction of the asylums now being erected will exhibit, when completed, a largely increased percentage over that of any previous period.

There have been no new demands of science — no change in the pecuniary condition of our people — no elevation of the requirements of the middling and dependent classes — to warrant an increased and increasing expenditure upon public buildings of this class.

We express no new sentiment, when we utter a protest against the adoption of plans and specifications for asylums which require unreasonably large expenditures to complete them. It is the common experience that these structures are called into existence by representations of the condition of the insane poor out of asylums. The sums raised would never be voted, unless

to execute a charitable purpose. Such institutions, therefore, should never be diverted from their originally designed object, to become aught but the exponents of the charitable sentiment of a community,—to add by their architecture, surroundings and adornments to the attractiveness of a locality, or to symbolize the “grandeur of a state.”

Nine asylums erected during the decade ending 1866, cost, to construct, \$984 for each patient accommodated. For the decade ending 1876, the cost for each patient, excluding several asylums now in course of construction but not completed, was seventeen hundred and fifteen dollars (\$1,715).

In respect to buildings for the insane, great and decided concessions in the cost and plans must be made. Asylum accommodation may be prepared which will cost from one-third to one-half the amount last named. Neither is it necessary that it should be prepared to endure for centuries.

In this connection we present and commend a principle which has been applied, in the States of Pennsylvania and Illinois, to the erection of new hospitals for the insane, as worthy of imitation. In one case, the law provides that the site selected shall be approved, and in the other, that the building plans be approved, by the respective *Boards of State Charities*. This principle, which is new, may well be applied to all proposed buildings for charitable or benevolent purposes, to be erected by the State, and will result, we doubt not, in a decided reduction of the cost of construction and in the subsequent expenditures, without which we do not look for the adoption of a general system of care and provision for the insane.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION.

While errors in judgment may not infrequently occur in the asylums, we believe what may be properly termed abuses are of rare occurrence, and when they do exist, cannot and do not remain concealed. The public mind is exceedingly sensitive and suspicious in relation to the management and custody of the insane in asylums. The unsupported allegation that a person has been improperly confined to an asylum will produce a profound sensation from one extreme of the country to the other, while, on the other hand, the fact that men and women are chained to floors in cells in county poorhouses and other places, contin-

uously, for years, and faithful physicians and attendants imperil and sacrifice their lives, awakens scarcely a passing notice from the self-constituted guardians of personal liberty.

No human ingenuity has been able to devise a scheme for the prevention of human depravity. It is possible, however, to expose its existence and to apply a corrective. The knowledge that the power of correction of abuses exists, and is, and will be, applied, should reassure the public, and tend to establish confidence.

The high standing of the British asylums—their advanced ideas in treatment, their freedom from use of restraint, occupation of patients, the high tone of the literature of the medical profession, the immunity of the asylums from political management, and the confidence and universal esteem in which they are held—are largely if not mainly due to the beneficent and overshadowing influence of the Commissioners of Lunacy. The influence of a similar intermediary board needs to be felt, and would be welcome, in this country, though it is doubtful whether the lunacy interests alone, of any State, are of sufficient magnitude to warrant the creation of such boards. They may be, as in many States, properly confided to *Boards of Public Charities*, possessing all the needful powers of a lunacy commission, representing all the public charities, in their benevolent, financial, and medical relations to the community, elevating them, and bringing them in these respects in best accord with the policy of the State.

In presenting a report on *Insanity*, the Committee refrain from discussing existing asylums, their plans and methods, if indeed the limits of the hour permitted. It has been deemed the wiser course to present certain phases of the subject as suggestive of reflection, and which it is believed the machinery of the State Boards should embrace; viz., the reduction of the cost of buildings; the separation of the insane from the influences of the almshouses; the elevation of the standard of care of the incurable insane poor above that of the poorhouses; hospital care for all recent cases, particularly of the middling classes; a wise and thorough oversight of the public asylums; the transfer, by the agency of the courts, of cases of extreme wretchedness and neglect, from the almshouses to the asylums; and, lastly, to impress the public mind with sentiments of benevolence and duty toward the insane, and to search for and apply universally, good

principles of treatment and administration. The Committee have also deemed it the better course to present what appear to be actual results, the extent of the whole burden to be assumed, and to announce certain unquestionable principles which must have force, and, in the end, receive universal recognition.

DEBATE ON INSANITY.

At the close of Dr. Chapin's Report, upon request of the Chair, Mr. J. R. Thomas, an architect of Rochester, N. Y., exhibited and explained certain plans which he had made for the construction of asylum buildings to accommodate twelve hundred inmates.

Mr. CARL PFEIFFER condemned the current habit of submitting plans and specifications for public buildings to parties incompetent to pass upon their merits or demerits. Political influence had too much to do with such work, and the result was seen in the increased cost of the structures, and their lack of fitness for the special use proposed.

Dr. NORRIS of New York asked if the plans were to be adopted by the Conference.

THE CHAIRMAN. No.

Dr. NORRIS thought that large asylum buildings were not in favor at the present time. His observations led him to think that from three to four hundred patients was the maximum number that ought to be cared for in any edifice. The insane were better cared for in smaller numbers.

Mr. COGGSHALL of Rhode Island complimented Dr. Chapin on the able paper he had presented to the Conference, which brought out all that he could have said upon the subject. He did not agree with the popular theory that insanity was increasing. The fact was, the population was increasing, and instead of being cared for by their friends in private dwellings as formerly, the insane are now committed to the custody of those whom they felt would treat them kindly. In Rhode Island they adopted the cottage plan, and found it economical, and well adapted to meet the needs of the inmates.

Dr. WYLIE of the State Charities' Aid Association of New York spoke at some length on the comparative lack of provision for the medical care of the insane. Hospitals were well equipped with physicians, but large insane asylums were found in charge

of only one or two physicians. It did not seem to him that insanity could be very well studied under these conditions.

Mrs. DALL of Boston agreed with Dr. Wylie, and spoke in strong terms of the neglect of this class. Not only would it be desirable to study the condition of insane patients every day, but they ought to be regarded more in the light of diseased persons, and visited, as a wise physician would visit his patients, at the same hour each day. This, in an institution with twelve hundred patients, and only three physicians, was simply impossible.

Mr. LORD of Michigan seconded the remarks of Mrs. Dall. Insanity, in a great number of cases, was accompanied by great physical prostration, which required the presence of a physician. It made no difference whether it was to be regarded in the light of a disease or not; it was in most cases coupled with disturbance, rendering the services of a medical officer indispensable. There was, he thought, an insufficient medical staff in charge of the insane.

Mr. ROOSEVELT spoke of the importance of having a sufficient number of suitable keepers, and asked Dr. Chapin his opinion as to how many a good asylum ought to have?

Dr. CHAPIN. I should rather say one to every ten or twelve patients.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I should be well satisfied if in New York we had half that number.

Dr. NORRIS. We have in King's County erected a new asylum, and separated the chronic insane from the acute cases. In our new asylum we have two physicians in charge of 275 patients, and in the old asylum some 750 patients in the care of five physicians. At the head of this bureau of physicians stands Dr. Parsons. We pay him \$3,500, with apartments and maintenance for himself and family. We have inaugurated a new system of care, so far as our grounds admit. Every day, in fine weather, we take them out on the lawn. We have ordered the erection of an amusement-hall, for their entertainment once or twice a week, in concerts and recreations of various kinds. King's County, to-day, spares no expense for the welfare of the insane intrusted to her charge. I say this, because for a number of years many unhappy sayings went abroad against the management of that department of the County Almshouse.

On motion of Dr. Hoyt, this order of business was laid on the table, the hour having arrived for the next Report.

Upon the termination of the debate on Dr. Chapin's report, at 5 p. m., the Chairman called upon Mr. Sanborn to report for his Committee on Statistics, which was done as follows :—

STATISTICS OF PAUPERISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

A Report from the Standing Committee on Statistics and Legislation, made to the Conference of Charities at Saratoga, Wednesday, September 5, 1877.

BY F. B. SANBORN, A MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Committee for which I have the honor now to report, consists, as you are aware, of Dr. Luther of Pennsylvania, its Chairman, Dr. Hoyt of New York, Messrs. H. W. Lord of Michigan, T. W. Haight of Wisconsin, John C. Devereux of New York, Dr. E. M. Snow of Rhode Island, and myself. Dr. Luther having undertaken to write a report for the committee on "Dependent and Delinquent Children," of which he is also a member, and Dr. Hoyt having made his contribution to the statistics of the year, by his admirable monograph on "The Causes of Pauperism," which is submitted herewith,—I was desired to draw up this report, as having had some acquaintance, now for many years, with the general subject of pauper statistics. It is a dry topic, and I can hardly hope to make it attractive by anything which I may say. But I desire to show you how important it is, and what injustice results from the imperfect collection or the injudicious use of the common statistics of pauperism.

Mr. Canning once said in parliament, "I can prove anything by figures, except the truth." This is eminently the case with the figures which relate to pauperism. Professor Fawcett, some years ago, proved to his own satisfaction, I believe, that pauperism was more common in Philadelphia than in London, simply by doubling the actual number of the indoor poor of Philadelphia, and multiplying the outdoor poor by seven. That was the effect of his use of the figures which he found in some American report; the fact being that pauperism in London is two or three times as bad as in Philadelphia. In this instance the error was readily detected, but it is not always so; and I ven-

ture to say, that there is scarcely a general statement made, or a comprehensive comparison attempted, concerning the amount of pauperism in different States of our Union, or the relative pauperism of the United States and foreign countries, which statement or comparison does not contain such gross errors as to vitiate it completely. The reason for this is, that our statistics in this respect are so imperfect, heterogeneous, and ill-compiled, that they can scarcely fail to mislead any man who makes use of them, unless he should happen to be, like the members of this Conference, unusually well acquainted beforehand with the facts of the case.

The first of our Conferences, — that held in New York in May, 1874, — taking this serious defect in our pauper statistics into consideration, appointed a committee to prepare blanks for uniform statements of the number, classification, and cost of the paupers supported and relieved in the different States then represented by boards of public charity. This committee, which consisted of W. P. Letchworth of New York, H. H. Giles, of Wisconsin, and F. B. Sanborn of Massachusetts, reported at a special conference in New York city, September 9, 1874, and recommended a form of questions, which, if answered in each State, would gradually bring our statistics to a fair degree of uniformity. Some objection was made by several of the Boards of Charities then existing to the adoption of this form, while others, and among them the Massachusetts Board, adopted it and undertook to answer the questions. So far as I know, the Massachusetts Board was the only one which did answer all the questions, and that only for a single year, in its eleventh annual report, covering 1874. Since then, though many of the facts called for in this form of questions have been set forth in the annual reports from Massachusetts and other States, no complete and comprehensive statement, such as was recommended in 1874, has been anywhere given for a single State.

No doubt there are serious obstacles in the way of collecting and tabulating the facts necessary to show how many paupers are aided or supported in a State like New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, or Massachusetts, or even a small and compact State like Rhode Island. The aid is given by several distinct authorities, of the State, the counties, and the townships, and even if returns can be obtained from all these, it is no easy matter so to tabu-

late them as to prevent omissions and duplications. But, difficult as the task is, it seems absolutely necessary to undertake it, if we would not find ourselves completely at the mercy of wild and conflicting conjectures concerning the burden of pauperism and crime in any particular community. Because the actual facts are not attainable, writers and speakers will not therefore abstain from giving what they hastily assume to be facts; and thus a dozen different estimates and comparisons, all perhaps false, and some of them very absurd, may be flying about the country at once, to the great confusion of all sound knowledge and correct reasoning in regard to pauperism, insanity, crime, or the topics related thereto. It is therefore incumbent upon official boards and statistical bureaus (to which the public naturally and very properly looks for correct information upon these questions of daily increasing urgency), that they should so present the facts as to afford the smallest possible opportunity for accidental or conjectural error.

The form of questions adopted in 1874, though never practically complied with, is subjoined. In regard to them, the Committee then said:—

“It will be noticed that the above questions apply to each State in which a Board of Charities exists, and are intended to elicit such statements in the next reports of these Boards as will present all the material facts of a general nature in regard to pauperism, insanity, and crime, and their cost to the State for which the report is made. It is not expected that all the questions can be exactly answered, but it is hoped that where definite statistics cannot be given *for the whole State*, a careful estimate will be made, under each head, and, if possible, in reply to each question. Even in cases where, as in the State of New York, the Board of Charities divides with the Commissioners of Emigration, the Lunacy Commissioner, and the Prison Association, the supervision of charitable and penal establishments, it is hoped that the statistics of pauperism, insanity, and crime, for the whole State, may be brought together in the report of the Board of Charities, after obtaining the needful information from the other State authorities. In Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, and perhaps in other States, the attempt is now made in the annual reports, to bring all these statistics together, so as to present an aggregate by means of which the condition of one State can be closely compared with that of another.

“It will be further observed that no attempt has been made, in the

above questions, to get at the statistics of the *causes* of pauperism and crime. This work — a very delicate and difficult one — has been undertaken in the great State of New York, by the diligent and experienced secretary of the State Board of Charities, Dr. Hoyt, and is going on at this moment. When it shall have been so far completed that the first general abstract of results can be published, other States will have a guide, of much value, to aid them in a similar task. Until then we would recommend the Boards in other States to make use of Dr. Hoyt's questions, printed herewith, so far as may be found practicable, where the legal and administrative machinery has not been so fully provided as seems to be the case in New York."

The time which was anticipated in these remarks, made three years ago, has now arrived, and the "general abstract of results" drawn from Dr. Hoyt's inquiries is now before the world in the form of a volume, from which many general facts in regard to the causes of pauperism in particular cases, and even in whole communities, may be learned. But the statistics of number and cost, such as the questions of 1874 sought to bring out, are prior in practical consequence even to these tables of Dr. Hoyt. When armies are overrunning a country, it is of the first importance to know where they are, how numerous are their forces, and what they are doing. At a later period — perhaps after they have been checked or defeated — we may inquire how they came among us, and whether they are of this race or that, old men or young. These facts, also, in dealing with pauperism, are of true significance, and even indispensable to a complete victory over that evil. But we must first ascertain how great the evil is, whether it is growing or declining, and how it is affected by the varying circumstances of different communities. For this purpose accurate statistics, collected and published year after year, are absolutely essential. Nothing else will take their place; while from imperfect or exuberant or conjectural statistics, useless and even dangerous conclusions are inevitably drawn.

INQUIRIES TO BE ANSWERED IN THE ANNUAL REPORTS FROM EACH STATE.

I.—THE NUMBER OF PUBLIC DEPENDENTS.

1. What was the *aggregate* and what the *average* number of public dependents in your State (whether under the oversight of your

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board or otherwise) for the year ending September 30 (or December 31), 1874 ?

(a.) The aggregate number.

(b.) The average number.

2. State the number in each class composing this aggregate number ; namely,—

A. *Paupers Fully Supported.*

In almshouses.

In lunatic hospitals or asylums.

In private families or otherwise.

B. *Persons Aided or Partially Supported.*

In their own families.

In hospitals, infirmaries, and dispensaries.

In asylums, schools, reformatories, prisons, or elsewhere.

C. *Paupers Removed or Transported.*

(This may include the care of vagrants, the burial of the dead (not otherwise chargeable), the return of immigrants or interlopers to their own proper place, etc.)

D. *Grand Aggregate of Paupers.*

Average of paupers. (Number at the beginning and end of the year.)

E. *Insane Persons ; viz.,—*

Whole number in the State at a given date.

Whole number in hospitals and asylums. (State the number of these supported at *public* expense, either by the State, the counties, or the cities and towns.)

Whole number in almshouses and prisons.

Whole number in private families. (State whether supported at *public* or private cost.)

The average number in the above situations.

F. *Aggregate of the insane.*

Average of the insane.

G. *Aggregate of pupils in public reformatories.*

Average of pupils in public reformatories.

(State how many of these are also included among paupers above mentioned.)

H. *Prisoners ; viz.,—*

Convicts in the State prisons. (Whole number and average.)

Convicts in houses of correction, district prisons, and workhouses. (Whole number. Average.)

Convicts in jails and county prisons. (Whole number. Average.)

Persons waiting trial or sentence, or the execution of sentence. (Whole number. Average.)

(State how many of each of these classes are males, how many females; also, how many are likewise included in any of the previously named classes.)

N. B.—*This is preliminary and essential to giving—*

3. THE GRAND TOTAL OF ALL THE PUBLIC DEPENDENTS for the year (duplicates excluded), and the average number; also, the NUMBER AT TWO GIVEN DATES, *which should be the same in all the reports*,—say the first of January and the first of July, in each year.

II.—THE COST OF PUBLIC CHARITY AND CORRECTION.

1. The *whole* net cost of full support for paupers.
 - A. In almshouses, etc. (as above).
2. The *whole* cost of aid and partial support.
 - B. In their own families. (This is "outdoor relief," strictly speaking.)
In hospitals and dispensaries. In asylums, schools, etc. (as above).
3. The whole cost of vagrants, burials, transportation, etc. (as above)
4. *Grand total of pauper cost.*
5. Cost of the insane. (Specify how much of this is included in the pauper cost, and give the items by classes as above, under E.)
6. Cost of pupils in reformatories, etc. (Specify as in case of the insane.)
7. Cost of prisoners, their support and all expenses, deducting their cash earnings. (Specify how much of this is included above.)
8. The grand total of all the expenditure for public dependents, *excluding all duplications of cost*, and giving in the same connection the average number supported in each class, and the average net cost per week for each person.

III.—THE PUBLIC PROVISION FOR BLIND, DEAF-MUTE AND IDIOTIC PERSONS.

1. What is the whole number of blind persons in your State? Of deaf mutes? Of idiots?
2. How many of each class are at school, or in asylums where they are taught something, and how many of such establishments in your State?
3. What methods of instruction are employed? How many persons are subjected to each method, and at what cost annually? (State by whom this cost is paid; how much by the State, how much by the counties and cities, etc., how much by individuals.)

IV.—HOSPITAL PROVISION FOR THE SICK.

1. How many hospitals for the sick, special and general, in your State? How many patients can they receive at once; and how many did they receive in the year 1874?
2. How many of these were pauper hospitals, and have their cost included in the pauper expenditure?
3. How many are supported or aided by appropriation of public money, made by (a) the State, (b) the counties, (c) the cities or towns? What is the whole cost to the tax-payers?
4. What was the annual cost in the income of invested funds and endowments? What in receipts from the patients and their families?
5. The whole cost of hospitals and dispensaries. (Specify how much of this is also included in the pauper and prison expenditure.)

V.—PRIVATE CHARITIES.

1. Estimate the sums expended in private charity in your State by *organized societies*, and the annual number of their beneficiaries, classifying the same as clearly as possible, and excluding *educational* charities, except for the benefit of the classes named above.

Let me now consider the form of questions adopted in 1874, and point out wherein they will enable each State, if complied with, to set certain limits to the conjectural element, now so wildly fluctuating, in all our pauper statistics. The English, with their national and proverbial common-sense, early saw the necessity for this, and, therefore, established the practice of counting the whole number of their poor, indoor and outdoor, on a given day. The other European nations have not followed this practice generally, nor have we in this country. Our practice has been to give the whole number aided or supported during the whole year, with the average number (by no means in all cases). In the questions above, our American usage is retained, while the English usage of counting all the paupers at two fixed dates is also adopted. This simple device of taking the pauper census twice a year, would correct half the current errors in our present figures.

Let me give some recent examples of these current mistakes. A friend very familiar with statistics of all kinds, wrote me last spring to inquire if it could be true that in Massachusetts one

Membership is obtained by the payment of the annual sum of five dollars (\$5.00). This confers upon the subscriber the right to take part in business meetings of the Association, and to vote in elections of officers, and entitles him to receive its publications free of expense.

The publications consist chiefly of the "Journal of Social Science," which includes the results of the work of the Association, more especially the debates, proceedings and papers of the general meetings. Two numbers a year can be promised, upon the basis of 700 subscribers, and matter to fill a third is always ready to hand if funds can be supplied to publish it.

It would seem that the desired increase of membership ought to be easily obtained; and the Executive Committee believe that it can be, if those to whom this circular is addressed will become members, if not already such, and aid in interesting others.

We therefore respectfully ask your personal aid and coöperation in extending the list of members, and solicit the favor of an immediate reply.

For the Executive Committee,

DAVID A. WELLS,	<i>Norwich, Ct.</i>
WILLIAM B. ROGERS,	<i>Boston, Mass.</i>
EDWARD WIGGLESWORTH,	" "
THOMAS C. AMORY,	" "
EDWARD E. HALE,	" "
MRS. J. E. LODGE,	" "
MRS. HENRY WHITMAN,	" "
MRS. CAROLINE H. DALL,	" "
GEORGE T. ANGELL,	" "
J. S. BLATCHFORD,	" "
GAMALIEL BRADFORD,	" "
HAMILTON A. HILL,	" "
D. F. LINCOLN,	" "
WILLIAM WATSON,	" "
FRANCIS WAYLAND,	<i>New Haven, Ct.</i>
DORMAN B. EATON,	<i>New York.</i>
HENRY VILLARD,	" "
NATHAN ALLEN,	<i>Lowell, Mass.</i>
JOHN W. HOYT,	<i>Madison, Wis.</i>
W. T. HARRIS,	<i>St. Louis, Mo.</i>
W. H. RUFFNER,	<i>Richmond, Va.</i>
F. B. SANBORN,	<i>Concord, "</i>

N. B. In order to avoid misapprehension and prejudice, it may be stated that while the Association welcomes all new ideas, and encourages the greatest freedom of intelligent expression and debate, it does not hold itself responsible for the opinions of its individual members.

DAVID A. WELLS, *President*,
Norwich, Ct.
GAMALIEL BRADFORD, *Treasurer*,
5 Pemberton Sq., Boston.
F. B. SANDOEN, *Secretary*,
Concord, Mass.

American Social Science Association,

5 Pemberton Square,
BOSTON, NOVEMBER, 1877.

A. Williams & Co., Boston,
Publishers for the Association.

DEAR SIR:

Believing that you are interested in the work of the American Social Science Association, we venture to make a special appeal to you on its behalf.

Its object, stated briefly, is to encourage the study of the various relations, social and political, of man in modern life; to facilitate personal intercourse and interchange of ideas between individuals interested in promoting educational, financial, civil-service, sanitary, charitable, and other social reforms and progress; and promptly to make known to the public all theoretical or practical results which may flow from such studies or investigations. You are aware to what extent these ends have been successfully attained, by the organization and growth of the Association, and the periodical and public meetings of the members, with the accompanying reading of papers and discussions.

Our income has hitherto been sufficient to meet our expenses; but it has been necessary to rely upon sources which may be called extraordinary, and which may fail us next year or the year after. The Association has no funded property; its *regular* income is composed mainly of annual payments from members, which amount to less than \$1,300 *per annum*. The cost of publishing three numbers of the Journal (about 600 pages 8vo.) is \$1,000; the salary of a Secretary, office rent, clerk hire, expense of annual meetings and incidentals, to \$2,000 more, in round numbers, or a total of \$3,000. The Association has been in continued operation since 1865, and its present debt is very trifling. But it is thought that the time is come when we may confidently appeal to the general interest felt in Social Science throughout the country, for the purpose of establishing our finances upon a solid basis, by enlarging our list of members to 700 or 1,000.

It is believed that an institution supported in this way, and relying on a widespread popular feeling of interest, will not only stand firmer, but will accomplish its educational object far better than if, (as hitherto) it were supported by a few subscribers.

person in every seven was a pauper in 1875-76. He had seen in the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Secretary of our Board of Charities, that 222,673 persons had been aided or supported during the year; the population he knew to be about 1,650,000; and he therefore performed an easy sum in long division, and found that $1,650,000 \div 222,673 = 7\frac{2}{3}$. Hence, he inferred that one person in every $7\frac{2}{3}$ in Massachusetts was a pauper. Still more would he have been astonished, had he seen the figures for 1876-77, which were coming in when he wrote me, and have since been tabulated; for these show an aggregate of nearly 300,000 paupers, or more than one in every six inhabitants of Massachusetts. I assured my friend that no such alarming state of things existed; that if he would look at another column of figures in the same report, he would find that on a given day (March 1, 1876), the number of paupers was put down as only 35,740, which was no doubt in excess of the true number, and that the proportion of paupers to population in Massachusetts, even now, when pauperism has been much increased by the hard times, was certainly not more, according to the English standard, than one in 45,—that is, not half so great as in England. Of this fact there is not the slightest doubt; yet an official report issued in Massachusetts last spring stated that while there was but one pauper in 23 in the whole population of England, there was one in every 19 in Massachusetts, and that the difference was increasing between the two communities in this respect.

The fallacy lying at the root of such mistakes as this has been well pointed out by one of the English poor-law officials, Mr. Andrew Doyle, in a report on "Poor-Laws in Foreign Countries," published by the Local Government Board in 1875. Mr. Doyle says:—

"From no two countries can it be said that similar classes of facts are reported. For the purpose of comparing one district with another, or one period with another, the English returns may be accepted as unimpeachable. But for the purpose of comparing the pauperism of England with the pauperism of any foreign country, *our returns are not merely valueless, they are misleading.* A very large proportion of those who swell the pauper rolls of foreign countries *could not be included in returns compiled upon the principle of the English returns.* The average pauperism of England is ascer-

tained by taking the numbers in receipt of relief on the 1st of January and the 1st of July, in each year. The French statisticians undertake to give the total number actually relieved in the course of the year. No comparison of any value can be made between returns that obviously rest upon data so dissimilar."

Now, our American pauper statistics are made up as those of France are, and they have, besides, an element of exaggeration, in States like Massachusetts, which obviously is not so great in France, and which is almost wholly excluded by the English method of counting on a given day. I refer to the duplication of the same person, on account of the mode of keeping the records, and the great number of municipalities making the return. There are 342 towns and cities in Massachusetts, and each one may return the same vagrant five times in a year. Here would be 1,710 tramps manufactured out of one. The number of vagrants reported in 1875-76 was 209,739,—the actual number found by counting on the night of March 1, 1876, was only 1,081,—or 1-200 part as many.

Many of the questions asked in the form above given are intended to secure information concerning *all* the paupers in any State, and to make sure that none escape from the census. These are important, and so is uniformity of classification important. But the point of most consequence is to take the count of the poor on two given days during the year; and until this is done, we cannot be sure that we know much, numerically, about pauperism in different States as compared with each other. I therefore conclude by expressing the hope that these questions will be adopted and answered in all the States, but that, at any rate, a census of the poor of all classes receiving aid or support on a given day will be taken in all the States at least twice a year. Were this done, we should gradually come to a tolerably accurate knowledge of the comparative and the actual condition of the States in respect to pauperism, and could safely make comparisons then with foreign countries.

DEBATE ON MR. SANBORN'S REPORT.

Mr. ELMORE of Wisconsin desired to have the form of questions considered further by the several Boards.

Mr. DUGDALE of New York thought that an exact means of measurement in the field of Social Science was very much

needed. The barometer and the thermometer were useful to the scientist. Statistics would be invaluable, if they could be relied on; but no correct inferences could be drawn from incorrect data. Statistics may be collected by the English method, or by the "solid-year method." The latter course would secure two things. First, the exact number relieved on any given day. Second, the total amount of relief given in a solid year, 365 days.

Dr. HORT now moved that the order of business laid on the table—the discussion of Dr. Chapin's Report—be again taken up, and it was so voted.

DEBATE ON INSANITY RENEWED.

Dr. BANCROFT of the New Hampshire Asylum for the Insane expressed his thanks to Dr. Chapin for his excellent and well-digested paper on the general question of Insanity. He had seldom heard a more terse and clear presentation of the subject. He would like to emphasize one or two points:—

First. The importance of separating the dependent insane from the general class of dependents. The tendency had been to associate the two together, and the result had been that the standard of treatment for the insane was lowered.

Second. There were two classes of insane people,—one of which could be cared for with a comparatively small number of medical officers, while the other class required more medical care. This distinction should be borne in mind. While there might be a select class which did not call for much medical supervision, there was yet another class that needed it fully as much as any sick person in society. He coincided in the opinion expressed about the paucity of the medical attendants for the insane. Though the distressed condition called bodily pain might not always be found, mental and moral conditions presented themselves that called for the exercise of the greatest skill, and the most extensive medical knowledge. In the treatment of the insane, he was of opinion that intelligent medical care could be profitably employed just to the extent that it was procurable.

In regard to buildings for this class, Dr. Bancroft was of opinion that a certain fraction of the insane could be distributed in isolated cottages, from a central building, but was by no means sure that the cottage system was practicable for the remainder. It would require a very large outlay. He thought

that an institution for the majority of the insane should be in a cluster of buildings, and approved of the separation of these buildings. They should not be built in a block, nor come in contact one with the other, as a continuous structure. The only connection should be by means of corridors.

DR. ORDRONEAUX, Lunacy Commissioner of New York, praised the people of his State for the liberality they had exhibited in their provision for the insane. The State had no less than sixty-eight distinct Acts, referring to this class, on her statute-books. She had kept pace with the most advanced British legislation for the benefit of the insane; and, in fact, the mother country was now adopting a code based on that of New York. Our provision for the insane was, he conceded, open to the criticism of extravagance, but it should be looked at through the eyes of the age, and not measured by any narrow standard. When Governor Tilden had asked him if he believed the State of New York, in building five hundred houses, at \$3,000 each, and putting one insane man in each house, would show good economy, he had answered in this way, that the State was not building each house for one lunatic, but for successive waves of lunatics. A good deal of idle talk had been indulged in on this subject. He had spent some time in visiting the insane asylums of Europe, but in none of them had he found such good care taken of the pauper inmates as in the Willard Asylum of his own State. In conclusion, he would recommend that before any appropriations for public institutions were made, the matter should be referred to some authority competent to decide on the merits of the application, and he would suggest that the State Board of Charities be that consulting body.

The Conference then took a recess until 8 o'clock, P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

The Conference reassembled at 8 o'clock.

MR. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, Chairman of the Standing Committee on Medical Charities and Outdoor Relief, made the following Report:—

MEDICAL CHARITIES.

A Report Read by Theodore Roosevelt of New York, September 5, 1877.

The Committee, to whom was referred the subject of Medical Charities, respectfully report:—

The distinction between medical and other charities, is, that the former assist persons who, besides being poor, have the additional misfortune of being sick. In common with other charities, they provide house-room, food, fuel, and medicines, which are paid for by public or private contributions, and to these they add the further gratuity of medical and surgical attendance, which is not paid for. Physicians and surgeons give their time and skill, and beyond the consciousness of doing their best to alleviate suffering, ask for no return but the opportunity of observation and study, and the liberty to instruct their pupils by the bedside of the patients. There is some danger that the welfare of the individual patient may be subordinated to the requirements of medical investigation and experiment, and even to the desire for professional notoriety; but we must trust to the general high character of the profession to render this danger as small as possible.

Besides the benefit conferred on the patients themselves, medical charities, in the form of hospitals, render a great public service by protecting the general health from the spread of contagious and hereditary disease. The poor, whether suffering from their own faults and vices, or in consequence of the faults and vices of others, can only obtain efficient treatment for hereditary or superinduced disease through such instrumentalities, and it is of the last importance to the community at large that such treatment should be the best possible, in order that the diseases referred to may be eradicated, and the proper isolation of contagious cases secured. Still, notwithstanding the great benefit derived by the public and by individuals from medical charities, it is unhappily true of them, as of other charities, that they sometimes do harm where they seek to do good. They often cause and foster pauperism, by giving as alms that which might and should, in whole or in part, be paid for by their beneficiaries.

As an instance of the widely different courses pursued in institutions of a similar character, the experience of two hospitals in the city of New York is very instructive. In both, the same class of patients (artisans and their families) are treated; and while the managers of one report that their patients are too poor to pay anything, and that, consequently, no payment is demanded from them, the current expenses of the other hospital are paid by its patients of the same class as those of the first.

Dispensaries, with their auxiliary diet-kitchens for the very poor, are also of great public benefit and importance, and among the most useful charities. But here, too, the danger of pauperizing those who receive aid should be kept steadily in view, and the diet-kitchens, intended to restore the sick poor to a condition of self-supporting industry, must not be allowed to degenerate into soup-kitchens, where the idle and dissolute can obtain food to enable them to live without work; nor should certificates of illness be indiscriminately issued by the dispensaries, as they are frequently used to obtain aid from other charitable institutions. Great care should be taken, in both dispensaries and diet-kitchens, not to "overlap" in giving relief, and this can only be prevented by adopting and rigidly adhering to a system of districting the city or town, under which all applicants shall be visited in their homes, and their actual condition ascertained.

It is not just to the poor to tempt them with gratuitous help of every kind, and to sap their feeling of independence by giving them what they could themselves easily earn the means to pay for. In England, the evils attendant upon indiscriminate gratuitous medical relief have become so marked, that many eminent physicians and surgeons, as well as other persons especially interested in the welfare of the poor, have given much study to the subject, and the result has been the establishment of "Provident Dispensaries" in many parts of the country, which we consider of extreme importance, and only refrain from a full description of their operations because Mr. Barnard will read a paper upon this subject.

In order to counteract this great danger of pauperization, some general principle or system should be adopted by the Medical Charities. No person with money deposited in a sav-

ings bank, or invested in any remunerative enterprise, no one whose parents or children are in receipt of regular wages, which would enable them to pay even the smallest portion of the necessary expense, should be an entire charge upon any charity. To determine who should, and who should not, be excluded from entirely gratuitous care, and what proportion of the expense should be borne by each who is able to pay something, would require great care and discrimination. But if this crying evil of pauperization is to be checked, such care and discrimination are absolutely necessary. By comparing the earnings of the breadwinner of any family, and the number of persons dependent upon those earnings, with the probable cost of the required treatment, a just decision, as to how much or how little should be demanded, could, in most cases, be reached.

[Mr. Roosevelt here read from the "New York Daily Tribune," of April 13, 1877, the following paragraph:—

"Between thirty and thirty-five per cent. of the population of New York City is receiving medical attendance gratuitously," said Dr. Joseph last evening, at the meeting of the Public Health Association, at No. 12 West Thirty-first Street. "Such a great evil as this should be eradicated," was the opinion of another speaker, who declared that four-fifths of this charitable service was enjoyed by persons able to pay for the attendance of a physician. "Our five dispensaries and medical hospitals are shamefully imposed upon. Applicants for relief and medicines are, in a majority of cases, far from being objects of charity, but in order to save a few dollars they pretend to be paupers," said Dr. Ward. "Yes, that is a fact," said a physician attached to a free dispensary. "It was only yesterday that a fashionably dressed man, who gave his occupation as a broker, called at our institution for treatment, explaining that times were dull in Wall Street, and that he thought it well to economize in the way of a doctor's bill." The physician also related an instance of a lady owning valuable property near Washington Square, who called at the dispensary for medical attendance on the plea of hard times. Dr. Agnew thought that this state of affairs was seriously injuring public morality.]

Besides this danger of pauperization, it is well to mention here, that there are other moral disadvantages consequent upon the gratuitous treatment of the poor in hospitals, which should not be forgotten. Among these, are the loosening of the family tie, and the diminution of the sense of responsibility for the care

and comfort of all members of the family, which must follow the removal of any suffering member from family association and care. The home feeling is weakened, if not destroyed. On the slightest pretext, "malingerers" seek entrance to some hospital, and, having obtained it, spend their time in passing from one to another; and, when convalescent, have become so demoralized by their long life of idleness, that they do not willingly return to their former habits of self-supporting industry.

A sufficiently large "Convalescent Home," where the patients should be employed in light labor, and in connection with which there should be an "Employment Office," would tend to remedy this evil, and be a great blessing to every large city in which there are many hospitals.

The need of the establishment or the multiplication of several other institutions, belonging properly to the sphere of medical charities, is also strongly felt. Among these are homes for chronic and incurable invalids. As a rule, such invalids cannot be treated in a general hospital; they are out of place there, excluding patients who can be cured and restored to their families and to active life; besides they produce a depressing effect upon the other patients. Still, they are often those who best deserve charity, and are its most proper objects. The comparatively poor, when suffering from acute disease, or from accident, can often afford to be treated at their homes; having laid by a little, by means of which they are enabled to weather the storm; but the incurable is too often a total wreck, and has exhausted all his means, even the affection and patience of his family and friends. He needs the helping hand of charity, if any one does. In our Northern inclement region, the largest class of incurables are the consumptives, and of these many might be restored to a degree of health and usefulness, could they reach and be treated in a more favorable climate.

A large hospital for consumptives, in one of our Southern States, would be an inestimable boon to the poor, and might tend to improve the general health by doing something towards eliminating this scourge of our people. Such a hospital should have a large farm attached to it, in order to supply work to the patients, and situations in which they could support themselves might probably be found for many in the same soothing climate. The cheapness of land at the South, and the comparatively

moderate cost of living, would make the establishment and support of such a hospital much more feasible there than here.

Another need is of Hospital Homes for children afflicted with chronic disease. The unfortunately low character of many adult patients, especially in our public hospitals, renders it not only desirable, but necessary, that children should not be forced into close and continued contact with them, but should be saved from the degrading tendency of such associations.

A still greater want in many parts of our country is of Insane Asylums, for both chronic and acute cases, where patients can be treated at comparatively low rates, within the means of persons in moderate circumstances. At present many families are compelled to place their relatives, even those most dear to them, in Pauper Asylums, simply because they cannot pay the high rates charged by private institutions. If suitable buildings were provided, asylums could be carried on and made self-supporting at an expense of five dollars a week for each patient.

This brings us to the general subject of expense, which bears upon matters far more important than the mere waste of money.

The principal obstacle in the way of the establishment or multiplication of Hospital Homes and Insane Asylums, the want of which is generally acknowledged, is the practice of expending immense sums of money upon the erection of buildings of this character. Such expenditure is not only wasteful, but criminal and unjust. It is criminal, because all experience teaches that buildings of much cheaper and more temporary character are much better fitted for the object in view. It is unjust, because, while intended for those who have been brought to their present condition, in most cases, by their own vices or inefficiency, they are supported by taxation upon the mass of the people, large numbers of whom have had no better chances, and have, perhaps, undergone still severer trial than the drones, who are the inmates of such institutions; yet have maintained their independence, and have never appealed to charity for aid. These should not be compelled to diminish their own scanty earnings, in order to provide splendid homes and luxurious living for the vicious and the improvident; but the burden upon them should be made as light as possible, by limiting the expenditure for these objects to the strictly necessary.

We would also draw attention to the vital importance of having nurses of a high class, thoroughly trained under a Superintendent, who can generally combine with this the position of Matron. The advantage of such trained nurses has been well exemplified in the training schools now attached to several of the hospitals. Hospital construction is so well treated in the annexed article that we embody it, as expressing our views.

PRINCIPLES OF HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION.

[From the Fourth Annual Report of the State Charities Aid Association, 1876. Extract from Report of the Standing Committee on Hospitals.]

"Of so much importance is the subject of hospital construction at the present time, that we conclude our report by stating in concise terms the principles which should be adhered to in the erection of a general hospital.

"I. A site should be selected which affords the best sanitary conditions—removed from sources rendering the air impure, and from surrounding obstructions to its free circulation. Rather than erect a hospital in a crowded district, surrounded by buildings, it is better to place it as far as practicable from the centre of population, and to have in connection with it a system of small reception hospitals, containing not more than six beds, with ambulance wagons for conveyance of patients.

"II. The grounds should be well drained and cultivated, so as to give a large supply of foliage.

"III. The administrative building, drug-room, kitchen, laundry, and bath-house should be separated from the wards and to the leeward, so as not to obstruct the prevailing winds during the summer months.

"IV. The post-mortem, pathological, and dispensary buildings should be separated—in fact, isolated—from the rest of the hospital, and have a different set of medical men and attendants.

"V. The patients should be divided according to their diseases into not less than four classes:—

"Class 1st. Non-infectious cases and those not liable to become infected or to infect others—as rheumatism, disease of the heart, liver, kidneys, etc.

"Class 2d. Non-infectious cases, and those not dangerous to others, but liable to become infected—as slight wounds, scalp-wounds, with fracture of skull, etc.

"Class 3d. Non-infectious cases, but liable to become so, and dangerous at all times to others—as severe wounds, burns, etc.

"Class 4th. Infectious and contagious cases—as pyæmia, septicæmia, erysipelas, gangrene, etc.

"VI. For the treatment of all classes of patients, it is *very desirable* to have every ward in a separate one-story pavilion; for the treatment of cases coming under classes second and third, it is *essential* that the wards should be in one-story pavilions. For the treatment of class fourth, isolated huts or tents are *absolutely necessary*.

"VII. The pavilions for the first and second classes may be permanent in character, but those for the third class should be more or less temporary. Those for the fourth class should be frequently destroyed and renewed.

"VIII. Every pavilion should consist of two distinct parts:—

"(a) The ward, placed on a high basement made permanently dry, with its axis running north and south; say 30×100 feet, allowing at least 120 feet of surface area, and high enough to give not less than 1,800 cubic feet of air-space to each bed. There should be one window to each bed. In the temporary pavilions for severe cases, the surface area and the cubic air-space for each bed should be much greater.

"(b) The service-room building, containing the dining-room, water-closets, etc., should be near the north end of the ward, connecting with it by means of a short corridor, thus leaving both ends of the ward free and diminishing the risk of infection from the service-rooms.

"IX. The pavilions should be distant not less than three times their height from each other and from all other buildings.

"X. Unless the severity of the climate demands a closed corridor, the communication between the buildings should be by open walks, under a covered way, with tramway-carriages for conveying food and patients to the wards. If corridors are used, the wards should be raised high enough to allow the corridors to be raised wholly above the ground, and have their tops serve as walks, on a level with the floor of the wards.

"The corridor should connect with the service-rooms and not with the wards.

"XI. The object of ventilation is to secure a *frequent* and *complete* change of the air in the wards.

"For ventilating and heating one-story buildings, such as we have proposed, the simplest and most successful method is by means of open fires. Hot water as an auxiliary should be used in preference to steam or hot-air.

"XII. The number of beds in the hospital should be great enough to permit three or four beds in each ward to be always empty, and the number of wards should be sufficient to allow one in twelve to be vacated and left open to the air and light for purification.

"XIII. A lying-in service should never be carried on in connection with a general hospital.

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"We are not forgetful of the fact that the success of a hospital depends more upon its good management than upon the character of the building; but we are satisfied that, even with good management, the majority of hospitals now in use cannot be made to give results that will equal those to be attained in a properly constructed hospital.

"For the Committee,

"W. GILL WYLIE, M. D., *Chairman.*"

In closing, we would thank our medical friends for their kind answers to our inquiries, especially Dr. H. Paine and Dr. C. R. Agnew, who have shown so deep an interest in the subject of our report.

We would also call especial attention to the "Cottage" Hospitals which have increased so largely in number in England; they are fully described by Mr. H. C. Burdett in his book upon this subject.

Mr. THEODORE ROOSEVELT of New York then took the chair and called upon Mr. CHARLES BARNARD of New York to read his paper on—

PROVIDENT DISPENSARIES.

Mr. BARNARD read as follows:—

Careful observers, both here and in Great Britain, estimate that from thirty to forty-nine per cent. of the persons who are aided by free hospitals and dispensaries are in nowise entitled to the benefits they receive.

It is a common impression among a large class of people in New York that dispensaries are, like the fire department, a city institution, supported by the tax-payers, and that any one may demand medical aid, precisely as he would call the firemen in case of need.

From a report made by a committee of the New York Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor, it appears that, of one hundred and fifty-two persons who received aid from some of our dispensaries, fifty-eight gave the wrong address; of the rest, eighty-two earned from three dollars to twenty dollars a week, and only twelve were without means and strictly entitled to relief. Of those who gave the wrong address, it is thought the majority desired to deceive, wishing to get help for which

they were able and unwilling to pay. This abuse of our medical charities needs no discussion. It exists, and it seems a pleasanter duty to point a remedy,—the *Provident Dispensary*.

In every community, there may be found a certain number of sick people. In each thousand men, women, and children, a certain number say twenty-five, are paying for medical advice. The nine hundred and seventy-five are well and independent of this expense. This sickness-rate being a known factor in any particular city, we may estimate from it the commercial value of health, and found a system of health insurance that shall be both cheap and self-sustaining, and yet profitable to the medical profession. This is the idea of the *Provident Dispensary*. It seeks to collect, each week, a small sum from all, both sick and well, and, in return, it provides first-class medical advice and medicines free, on demand, to all its subscribers.

If one thousand persons paid into a common fund ten cents a week, they would have, at the end of the year, five thousand two hundred dollars. If they paid four thousand dollars to a good medical man, they could command his entire time, and still have twelve hundred dollars to pay for collecting the money. The physician would have a fixed and secure income, and a limited number of patients, and each subscriber would get good medical attendance for only five dollars and twenty cents a year. This is the business basis of the *Provident Dispensary*.

Such dispensaries have been in active operation for a number of years in England, and may now be seen at Derby, Coventry, Northampton, London, Manchester, and other places. They have passed the experimental stage, and have demonstrated their usefulness in giving cheap and ready aid to the deserving poor, and in checking the abuse of free dispensaries by the idle and unworthy. They help the poor man just when he needs help,—at the first hour of sickness; they repress sickness by attacking its early stages; they teach thrift and self-respect, while now our free dispensaries instruct in beggary. It is said that the right hand of charity should not let its left hand know what it gives. The *Provident Dispensary* is wiser, in that it keeps its hands fully informed of the doings of each, and thus prevents the beggar and tramp from plundering both.

Chief among these English institutions is the Manchester and Salford *Provident Dispensary*, an institution that has six dis-

dispensaries, a paying membership of thirteen thousand, and a medical staff of twenty-one first-class men. From the published rules of this dispensary, we may learn something of its plan of work.

The members of a Provident Dispensary are divided into two classes,—*honorary* members, who pay an annual subscription to assist in starting the dispensary, and in keeping it in operation till it can support itself; and the *free* members, who pay a very small weekly or monthly subscription, and who receive in return medical advice and medicines free, on demand. The free membership is limited to workingmen, their wives and children, who are not able to pay the usual medical fees, but who are not paupers. The Manchester and Salford Provident Dispensary limits its free membership to persons whose average family earnings do not exceed thirty-five shillings a week, or who cannot earn more than ten shillings a week for each man, fifteen shillings a week for a man and wife, and sixpence a week for each child. This limits the benefits of the institution to those whom it will best serve. Those who can afford something better are not entitled to its benefits, and the pauper is not worthy of them.

RULES OF THE MANCHESTER DISPENSARY.

I. MEMBERS.

The members shall be artisans and others in receipt of weekly wages, whose average family * earnings do not exceed thirty-five shillings per week, and who are not in receipt of poor-law relief.

Application for Membership.—Any applicant for membership must attend at the dispensary at such time or times as the committee may determine, and deposit two weeks' subscription, which will be returned if the depositor be not accepted as a member. If found eligible, he shall be enrolled, and receive a ticket of membership. No application from a married man or woman shall be entertained unless all the children of the family under fourteen years of age join at the same time. Children under fourteen years of age cannot be admitted (except orphans) unless entered with one of their parents or a guardian.

Payments.—The payments shall be made weekly, fortnightly, or quarterly, in advance. [In the event of any member, who has paid his subscription, becoming a recipient of poor-law relief, he shall be

* A family shall be considered as including the parent or parents, and all children under fourteen years of age.

entitled to receive the benefits of the institution until his subscription shall again become due.]

Every member whose average family earnings do not exceed thirty shillings per week shall pay one penny per week; but the subscriptions for all children under fourteen years of age, in any such family, shall never exceed twopence per week. Where the average family earnings exceed thirty shillings per week, each member over fourteen years of age shall pay twopence per week, and each child under fourteen years of age one penny per week; but the subscriptions for all children under fourteen years of age, in any such family, shall never exceed fourpence per week. The Committee may admit to either class any applicant for membership, if they think the case a suitable one. There shall be an entrance fee of sixpence for an individual, or one shilling for a family.

Any applicant for membership actually suffering from illness shall only be admitted upon payment of an entrance fee of five shillings. The whole of the family of the applicant must also join at the same time, and pay one month's subscription in advance. Any member shall be considered sick, and pay accordingly, if he apply for medical aid within fourteen days of membership.

Female members may be attended in their confinements by one of the medical officers upon payment of fifteen shillings, or by the midwife upon payment of seven shillings and sixpence, such payments to be completed one month before the expected confinement; and, if in instalments, in sums of not less than two shillings and sixpence each. If the aid of the medical officer or midwife be required in a premature confinement, the full fee of fifteen shillings or seven shillings and sixpence must be paid. In cases of difficulty, where a medical officer is called in by the midwife, the member shall pay the sum of ten shillings and sixpence to such medical officer, in addition to the seven shillings and sixpence to the midwife. The fee to the midwife is to be considered as payment for one week's attendance. The fees in cases of premature confinement or difficulty to be completed within one month after the date of attendance.

Arrears.—No member in arrear will be entitled to the benefit of the institution. If in arrear more than a fortnight, a fine of twopence a family, or one penny for an individual, shall be charged for each fortnight. The name of any member who is in arrear more than two months shall be erased from the books. Any person or family who may wish to re-enter a dispensary after having ceased to be a member, may do so upon the payment of a fine of five shillings; but the committee shall have power to make exceptions to this rule, or to remit fines in special cases.

Any sick person unable to pay the dispensary charges shall be re-

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ferred to the poor-law officers, or be recommended to one of the medical charities, as circumstances may require.

Summary of Privileges of Membership.

(a) Every member may select from the dispensary staff the medical officer by whom he or she may wish to be attended; but no change can take place during illness without the consent of the committee.

(b) Every member is entitled to general medical attendance and medicine at the dispensary or at his own home.

Patients who are able must attend at the dispensary at the appointed times, bringing their cards and prescription-papers with them. Patients too ill to attend at the dispensary must send their cards, before nine o'clock in the morning, to the residence of the medical officer they have chosen, who will see them at their homes. In cases of sudden illness or accident, members will be attended at any time on sending their cards to any one of the medical officers, when a special charge of one shilling may be made.

(c) Female members are attended in their confinements by the medical officer they have selected, or by the midwife.

(d) Members can be attended by a properly qualified dentist.

(e) Members suffering from illness requiring hospital treatment shall be entitled to a recommendation to the hospital most suited to the requirements of their case.

(f) Members removing to another district may be transferred without charge to the provident dispensary of the district to which they may have removed.

(g) Every adult member of six months' standing, and whose subscription is not in arrear, may vote at the annual meetings of his dispensary, and be eligible to serve on its committee.

II. HONORARY MEMBERS.

The honorary members shall be those who contribute money to the support of a provident dispensary, without having the privileges of ordinary members. Those who contribute five pounds in one sum to be honorary members for five years, and contributors of ten pounds and upwards in one sum to be honorary members during life. Subscribers of one guinea yearly to be honorary members during the continuance of the subscription.

The honorary members shall have the power of voting at annual meetings, and be eligible to serve on the committee of management.

III. FUNDS.

One-half of the payments of the ordinary members (with the exception of midwifery fees) shall be divided amongst the medical officers,

in proportion to the amount received from the members who have selected them. The midwifery fees shall be paid to the medical officers or midwives attending the cases in respect of which they were received. The balance of members' payments, together with the contributions of honorary members, shall be appropriated towards the expenses of management. If any sum be left after defraying such expenses, the committee shall distribute at least two-thirds thereof amongst the medical officers.

IV. MANAGEMENT.

Each dispensary shall be managed by a committee composed of four ordinary members, four honorary members, and four members of its medical staff.

The committee shall have power to appoint such paid or unpaid officials as they may consider necessary. They shall have power to suspend or discharge summarily any official for misconduct or violation of duties, or to expel any member for misconduct or violation of the rules. In all cases of doubt or dispute the decision of the committee shall be final.

The committee shall be elected at the annual meeting of members. A list of members eligible for election shall be exhibited in the dispensary one month before the date of meeting; and any adult member of six months' standing, whose subscription is not in arrear, and all honorary members, shall be at liberty to nominate members to serve on the committee. In case more than twelve members be nominated, the selection shall be by show of hands.

A general meeting of members shall be held annually, in the month of January, to receive the report of the committee of management, and to transact all business proper to such meeting. Fourteen days' intimation of such meeting shall be given by notice affixed in the dispensary, and by advertisement in the local papers.

An extraordinary general meeting of members may be held at any time upon the requisition, in writing, of twelve members; such requisition to state the object of the meeting, and to be delivered to the honorary secretary.

V. MEDICAL OFFICERS.

Any medical man qualified to practice under the Medical Registration Act, upon applying to have his name placed upon the staff of the provident dispensary in the district in which he resides, shall be so placed by the committee at their next meeting, upon his undertaking to perform, for a year at least, the duties as set forth in the rules of the dispensary.

No medical officer shall have more than 1,500 members or families on his list.

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(1) DUTIES.—(a) The medical officers shall prescribe for such members as may require their services at such times and places as the committee may from time to time arrange with the medical staff.

(b) No medical officer shall discontinue his attendance upon a member during sickness without the consent of the committee.

(c) A medical officer may, in cases of necessity, depute a qualified medical man to act for him; but under no circumstances whatever shall he transfer his duties to an unqualified assistant or practitioner.

(d) The medical officers shall attend members in their confinement who have paid the prescribed fee, and shall assist the midwife in cases of difficulty whenever she may require them. They shall attend premature confinements, as provided for by Rule V., sect. 2.

(e) They shall each keep a register, according to a prescribed form, of all cases treated by them, and report quarterly to the committee on the statistics of health of the members under their care.

(f) They shall undertake to give three months' notice of resignation.

(2) REMUNERATION.—The remuneration of the medical officers shall consist of one-half of the ordinary members' fund, and the balance as provided for by Rule III—Funds—shall be divided by the committee, according to the amount received from the members enrolled under each of them respectively. They shall receive fifteen shillings for every member whom they shall attend in their confinements, and ten shillings and sixpence for every case in which their aid is called in by the midwife. In case of premature confinement where the usual fee has not already been paid, it shall be paid to the medical attendant at the time, and if the patient be unable to pay, the committee shall be responsible for the same.

VI. — DENTIST.

Duly qualified dentists shall be appointed by the committee in the same manner as the other medical officers. They shall attend at the dispensary or elsewhere at such times as the committee may arrange with them to treat dental cases occurring among the members, and shall be paid according to a scale of fees approved of by the committee.

VII. — DISPENSER.

A duly qualified dispenser shall be appointed by the committee on such terms as they may determine. He shall attend at the dispensary at such times as the committee may deem necessary. He shall faithfully compound and dispense medicines to the members according to the prescriptions of the medical officers. He shall keep a stock-book

and prepare a list from time to time of such drugs as may be required, and lay the same before the Committee.

VIII. — MIDWIFE.

Each committee shall appoint a duly qualified midwife or midwives, who shall attend members in their confinements.

The Provident Dispensary does not seek to supplant the free dispensary. The free dispensary must be maintained so long as the pauper exists, and the pauper is a most perennial creature. It is not a rival, but an aid, a branch to be added to our present institutions. It is designed to assist the decent poor who cannot pay the regular medical fees, and who are not paupers. It cannot aid the well-to-do, and the pauper does not deserve its benefits.

From the poor man's point of view, the Provident Dispensary offers these advantages. It collects its fees in very small weekly sums, at his door, and it supplies the best medical advice instantly, on demand. The patient may choose his own physician out of the dispensary's staff. There is no delay, no restraint in asking for help, early, when it is most needed, and there is no humiliating sense of receiving charity. It is not charity, but business, a fair trade on both sides.

For the charitable giver, the Provident Dispensary offers a channel where the expense of bestowing the charity is reduced to a small sum, or is extinguished altogether. When the dispensary is young, and its membership is limited, it may be a charitable institution of a most sensible and valuable kind. When it becomes self-supporting, it is no longer a charity, but simply a co-operative medical society, and takes its place beside the savings bank and building association.

For the medical man, the Provident Dispensary offers these advantages. It secures him a good and steady income; there are no debts to be collected, and no loss. His work is limited to a fixed number of patients, and he knows he will be called only when he can do the most good. As those in health continually assist to pay his salary, it becomes his right to control them, to prevent disease, and to insist on healthful living.

For the free dispensary, this idea of making the patients pay for their advice at once closes the door against nearly all the fraud

and pretence that now preys upon the funds and labors of the charitable.

It is objected, that there will be great difficulty in collecting the weekly fees; that medical men will be shut out from many interesting and instructive cases of disease; and that, while provident dispensaries may succeed in Great Britain, they may not here. The building associations do not appear to find it difficult to collect their fees; and benefit and burial societies on the English plan are rapidly springing up in this country. These societies collect small fees weekly, and doubtless the dispensary could do the same. The free dispensary and hospital will always exist, and instructive cases in surgery and disease will always be unhappily plentiful.

The Provident Dispensary does not exist here as yet. It is time it did. If it does not fit our differing social conditions, let us make it fit. It is encouraging to notice that the Provident Dispensary is already under advisement in New York and Boston, and it remains to be seen which of these cities will be the first to start one of these most sensible and beneficent institutions.

Professor WAYLAND of Yale College then read that portion of the Report of Mr. ROOSEVELT's Committee which had been assigned to him to prepare; namely, a special —

REPORT ON OUT-DOOR RELIEF.

We may, perhaps, take it for granted that the principle of what is called out-door relief includes two conditions, — first, that the persons seeking such relief have a home, or certainly a residence in the community where such relief is to be administered; second, that the circumstances calling for such relief are temporary in their nature.

It will be at once observed that the necessary existence of these conditions will exclude from our present consideration the two remaining classes of paupers, namely, those whose physical weakness or mental infirmity renders it highly probable that they will be permanent paupers, and also those able-bodied persons having no homes and unable to find employment, or unwilling to labor, and familiar to us all as vagrants or tramps.

Out-door relief has hitherto been mainly administered in one of three ways:

1. With funds raised by taxation and distributed by paid officials.

2. With funds raised by taxation and distributed by a municipal board, in accordance with the recommendation of a body of unpaid officials or supervisors selected from reputable citizens. This is now well known as the Elberfeld system of out-door relief. It has been in active operation in the German town of that name, near Dusseldorf, since 1853, has been copied in several of the neighboring towns, and has shown some remarkable results. In 1852, Elberfeld, with a population of about 50,000, relieved 4,000 paupers, at an expense of more than \$44,000. In 1869, with a population of 71,000, there were less than 1,100 persons needing relief, and the expense incurred in supplying their wants was less than \$19,000. The characteristic feature of the Elberfeld system is the very minute and constant supervision carried on by unpaid visitors of the best class, selected from representatives of various callings. It is considered essential to the successful prosecution of the system, that the district assigned to each visitor should be very small, and the poor under his inspection very few (not to exceed at any time four families), so that he can do his work thoroughly, without encroaching upon the hours required for his regular occupation. The visitors are instructed to make a careful investigation of each case, ascertaining what means of support the applicant may have, what relatives are able to contribute to his maintenance, what is his capacity for labor, and all other facts pertinent to the inquiry. The visitor then makes his report to the municipal board, who are to determine whether any relief shall be granted and to what extent. In cases of great urgency, however, the visitor is authorized to give temporary assistance, pending the decision of the board. The relief is always granted for a brief period, and the cases are frequently reheard and revised. Care is uniformly taken, that while sufficient aid is furnished, it shall not be given in such generous measure as to make public charity attractive. There are, moreover, strict police regulations, punishing with imprisonment refusal to work when employment can be had, wasting the relief granted and mispending time in amusement, idleness, or drink, in such a manner as to render public aid necessary. The system is still

further fenced about with other restrictions and precautions, which, together with its peculiar official machinery, need not be detailed here. The essential and controlling idea of the system is the minute and constant supervision of applicants for relief by intelligent and trustworthy citizens, each having a small number of families under his charge, with this limitation imposed upon their operations, that the aid actually furnished shall be, as a rule, distributed by still another class; to wit, the paid servants of the municipal board.

3. With funds raised by voluntary contributions, and distributed by unpaid agents.

Now, bearing in mind that the only correct theory of out-door relief is to furnish assistance to families who are not wholly destitute, and therefore are not candidates for the almshouse, that it is to the last degree desirable, while affording the relief needed for the moment, to avoid, so far as is possible, whatever will tend to create or foster the habit of dependence, and therefore diminish self-respect and the disposition to be self-supporting,—and that it is equally desirable to guide the applicant for aid into the paths of honorable industry, to impress upon him that the relief furnished is intended to provide for a temporary emergency,—in effect, to bridge over the chasm between enforced idleness and remunerative employment; in other words, to exercise the greatest practicable care that charity shall not be so bestowed as to afford the means of vicious indulgence, or encourage continuous improvidence; keeping in mind all these and kindred considerations, let us examine, very briefly, each of the modes of granting out-door relief which have been indicated.

The first method, *i. e.*, where funds raised by taxation are distributed by paid officials, seems to us to be open to the gravest objections. Its direct and unavoidable tendency is to encourage the pernicious notion that the State is bound to support all who demand assistance; a notion which leads the recipient of relief administered in this way to accept it without gratitude and use it without discretion. The State represents to the professional pauper a vast, intangible body, which, somehow, owes him a living, which gives without self-denial or sacrifice, and without feeling the burden of maintaining him, and which he can therefore plunder without remorse and with very little danger of detection. The once honest pauper soon catches the contagion and accepts

the disgraceful situation. It no longer seems to him sinful to deceive the official who feeds him. To live without labor has become his only aim.

Hence this system not only encourages a confirmed habit of dependence, and, as a natural result, a loss of self-respect and a fatal willingness to belong to the pauper class, but also a habit of pitiful deceit, maturing by rapid steps into positive dishonesty, too often terminating in a career of crime. The family once accustomed to live in willing indolence, *without shame*, content to be maintained from the public purse at the hands of officials whom it deliberately and systematically misleads, is simply a training school for thieves.

Again, this system tends directly to political favoritism, by putting into the hands of the distributing officers a most powerful engine of corruption. It is surely so notorious as to need no proof that votes are influenced by making the receipt of assistance the reward of political services, in the confident belief (amply justified by experience), that sins of this description will be readily condoned by the party which derives a temporary advantage from such flagrant dishonesty. That an evil of this magnitude is inseparable from the system, would seem of itself to constitute a conclusive reason for discarding it.

But this method of relief is open to the further objection, that, even were the malign feature of politics no longer an element in the problem, there remains the incontestable fact that funds raised by the simple process of taxation and distributed by official machinery will never be expended in the wisest manner. For the giving of relief in this way must always be to a greater or less extent mechanical, where it is not mercenary or dishonest. The disbursing official soon comes to discharge his designated duty in a perfunctory, if not careless, spirit. He is animated, not by motives of benevolence, but by an almost inevitable desire to perform as little labor as will satisfy the scrutiny (usually superficial) of the appointing power. It is far easier to pay to the applicant a regular stipend, or from the caprice of the moment to refuse it, than to make a careful examination into the merits of the case and to repeat this examination at short intervals. If the officer commence his work with a conscience, he soon finds it an inconvenient companion, interfering with his ease by increasing his labor. Day by day he abates his vigilance and relaxes

the severity of his rules. He hardens his heart against the timid and easily repelled applicant, while he suffers himself to be deceived by the whining, or wearied into compliance by the importunate, or bullied by the sturdy beggar. Practically, he says to himself, "About so much money will be spent, anyhow; let me give it in such a manner as will cause me the least possible distress of mind or fatigue of body." He recognizes no duty to the tax-payer; he is actuated by no desire to diminish the number of paupers; he is stimulated by no sense of what he owes to the calls of suffering humanity. He is by turns a tyrant and a coward,—a tyrant to the weak and shrinking applicant, a coward to the bold and unblushing mendicant. He, too, has caught the contagion which infects alike the dispenser and the recipient of the public funds.

If, now, to cover all the possibilities of the problem, we may imagine the case of an official who persists in doing faithful and discriminating work, we shall see a man who receives scanty support from those associated with him, if indeed he does not encounter their active opposition; and when he is displaced as inconveniently honest, or voluntarily retires from a position the duties of which are properly discharged with so much difficulty, his place is promptly filled by one who has no such scruples, and the work goes on in the old, expensive, and harmful way.

And, after all, however faithfully as to frequent visitation and careful investigation of the actual circumstances of applicants, the work, under this system, might in a possible condition of affairs be performed, there would always be lacking the most important element of successful labor among the poor,—the element of personal sympathy. Such an official visitor as we have described, at the best, recognizes but one duty,—to guard against imposition. The applicant for relief sees him in but a single aspect,—that of one who is appointed and paid to feed him out of the public treasury. But the true design of administering out-door relief includes much more than this. It should aim to preserve the self-respect of the recipient, to encourage him in all honest efforts to maintain himself, and to impress upon him that such aid ought to be withheld as soon as practicable, not merely for the sake of protecting the public purse, but also on account of the evil effect of dependence on the habits and character of the recipient. Indeed, it cannot be urged too strongly

or too frequently that the slightest aid, in any conceivable form, which is given to one who is physically able to render an equivalent in labor, and who fails from any cause to render such equivalent, is a positive injury to the person so relieved.

Now, to emphasize these and similar arguments to be addressed to the pauper, he must know that the visitor is rendering his services without remuneration. He must be made to feel that the person with whom he is dealing can be actuated by no motives but those of pure benevolence. Too much importance cannot be attached in relieving and reformatory labor among the poor, to the immediate contact of unpaid visitors with the applicants for aid. "Everything can be done by personal intercourse with the poor, nothing without it," said one who had taken an active part in the Elberfeld system of out-door relief.

In this way, persons belonging to the intelligent and prosperous classes are brought into close relations with the poor under circumstances where wisely directed sympathy and good counsel will do vastly more than the mere relief doled out to preserve their manhood and lift them from poverty to a self-supporting condition.

It has been truly remarked that "out-door relief should, so far as possible, be temporary in its character, and stopped the very moment it ceases to be necessary. In order to effect this, the condition of the recipient must be re-examined at frequent intervals. Those who are proper recipients for aid one week may not be so the next. The great danger is, that those who have once experienced the convenience of out-door relief will relax all efforts in their own behalf, and invent excuses for rendering the temporary relief permanent. Relief acknowledged first as a gift, and gratefully received, is at length demanded defiantly as a right."

Now, it will not be denied that such frequent visitation, such constant and close supervision, and especially such intimate and friendly personal intercourse as we have shown to be necessary to the best conceivable system of out-door relief, is, if not impossible, practically unattainable in the case of paid officials. For we must always encounter, under this plan of operation, not only the, perhaps, inevitable tendency of this kind of salaried labor to degenerate into machine-work, but also its invariable inadequacy in numerical force to do anything like justice to

large area assigned to each official. If we are told that the force might be increased indefinitely, the ready and sufficient answer is, that tax-payers would never consent to the burden which would be imposed upon them by the army of disbursing agents which would find full employment in such a field.

The second mode of out-door relief, *i. e.*, with funds raised by taxation and distributed on the recommendation of unpaid visitors, while free from many of the objections which have been urged against the first method, is still open, at least so far as this country is concerned, to several objections of a very serious character. Among them may be mentioned the following:—

1. The funds distributed are to be raised by taxation. We have already indicated some of the evils attendant upon this form of relief, prominent among which is the danger of encouraging the pernicious idea that the state is bound to support its idle poor.

2. The visitors are directly appointed by the municipal board, who in their turn are to be elected by one or the other of our political parties. Until civil-service reform has gained a firm foothold in this country, it is certainly unsafe, in the light of what has been urged under this head, to intrust, directly or indirectly, the distribution of public funds in the form of out-door relief to a body of men dependent for their political existence upon the popular vote. The fact that this system has worked well in Germany, furnishes, we have too much reason to fear, no sufficient evidence that it can be successfully introduced into this country.

We come, now, to the third method of out-door relief, where funds raised by voluntary contribution are distributed by voluntary and unpaid visitors. It will, we think, be readily apparent, that the evils which we have shown to be inseparable from the other methods of out-door relief will not attach to this system. An additional reason for preferring the voluntary system deserves to be stated.

It needs no argument to demonstrate that the unpaid visitor, distributing funds raised in this way, will be free from many of the temptations, and will naturally avoid many of the errors to which the visitor under the first and second methods is inevitably liable. He volunteers for the service because he is impressed with its importance, and conscious of his duty to the community

in which he resides. He is accepted because he is believed to be competent, trustworthy, and unselfish. If he persevere in his undertaking, it is because he is convinced by experience that he is engaged in a wise and beneficent enterprise, conducted according to sound principles of almsgiving. In a word, the voluntary visitor under this system, fully aware that he is simply a steward to disburse with intelligent and careful discrimination funds which have been contributed by charitable citizens, will realize the sacredness of the trust committed to his charge, will perform with ever-increasing fidelity the duties which he has assumed, and will daily gain practical wisdom by varied experience, often depressing to the very verge of despair, but, in the long run, leading to the conviction that there is no more useful field of labor for the enlightened philanthropist than the judicious relief of the deserving poor.

In what has been said, we have purposely abstained from entering into details or prescribing any code of regulations in accordance with which such a system of out-door relief as we have recommended should be carried into execution. We have simply aimed to lay down certain general principles applicable to the topic under consideration. It may be well, however, before dismissing the subject, to indicate some of the points which should always be kept in mind by those who undertake to render out-door relief under what may be called *the voluntary system*.

First. It should be remembered that mere almsgiving is not charity. True charity, in the form of out-door relief, is just that amount and kind of assistance which is best adapted to the circumstances of the particular applicant. All almsgiving which does not keep this principle constantly in view is ill-advised and injurious.

Second. The cases in which relief is afforded must be under careful and constant supervision, and the relief must be withdrawn the very moment it ceases to be necessary.

Third. Every effort must be made to preserve unbroken the family status of the persons assisted where this can be done without endangering the morals of the recipients or diminishing their desire to be self-supporting.

Fourth. While it is highly desirable that the expenses of almsgiving under this system should be reduced to the lowest

practicable point, it seems essential that there should be some experienced and competent supervising authority, receiving an adequate salary and devoting all his time to the work.

Fifth. The area of territory in which out-door relief is to be administered, if too large to be wisely committed to the control of a single charitable organization, should be so exactly apportioned to different relieving societies, as to render it impossible for any family to receive assistance from more than one source.

DEBATE ON OUT-DOOR RELIEF.

Dr. NORRIS. I suppose this problem has been one of the most difficult of solution that conventions of charity officials have had to deal with during their sessions. At the Convention of Superintendents of the Poor, year after year, we get the experience and observation of gentlemen who deal directly with the poor, who talk with them in their homes, learn their history, and ascertain what they can, and what they cannot, do without. The opinions of such men are entitled to great weight. Theorizing on this question may be indulged in until doomsday, without bringing forth anything practicable. Now, I happen to be connected with one of the largest charitable organizations in the State of New York. Last year we expended \$105,000 in out-door relief; the year before our expenses were \$60,000. The year when it cost us only \$60,000, the poor were visited by paid officials, but so much unfavorable comment had been made, in regard to paid officials, that we made up our minds to try an experiment, and see whether we could get along any cheaper with voluntary visitors. I sent out circulars to the various charitable organizations in Kings County, inviting charitably disposed persons to meet with us, and see what could be done. The churches came forward with their volunteers, private charities also responded, and I was enabled to organize the whole county, dividing up the wards and districts, and assigning volunteer visitors to each, who were highly respectable and conscientious persons. Now, it was not to be supposed that these persons were actuated by political motives, nor could they be charged with seeking political favors. They visited the homes of the poor in their several districts, and returned to us their lists; each list going on to say, "I certify that I have personally visited the above applicants, and find the statements made to be

substantially true, and I recommend these persons for county aid." Every one receiving relief was certified to in this way; yet the out-door relief for that year cost us \$105,000. Now, I believe in volunteer visitors, but this only goes to show that, even under a voluntary system, in hard times, the poor will need assistance, and you cannot stop giving it.

Mr. LORD of Michigan thought that the voluntary system might do well in cities, but it would hardly answer in rural districts. He had frequently met with men of great practical experience, who almost universally disapproved of out-door relief, but still were obliged to adhere to it. It had troubled the old world, especially England. They disapproved of it there, but practised it nevertheless. He feared that to cut off out-door relief would be going back to the old times when voluntary contributions were given in the parish churches of England. Out-door relief gradually became compulsory, and then the poor-rate was collected. The adoption of a voluntary system might, he thought, be attended with profit, but it required the exercise of great caution, to prevent the poor from suffering. If taxation for out-door relief was cut off, it would be a question how long a time would intervene before voluntary help would become available to the full extent of actual poverty.

Professor WAYLAND. The gentleman from Michigan has furnished the clue to the entire question. Just so long as taxation for out-door relief is possible, so long will you be unable to bring about a good voluntary system.

Rev. Dr. H. L. WAYLAND of Philadelphia called attention to the exploded notion that it was the province of government to furnish everything to a man, religion included. He maintained that there was nothing in the constitution of civil society to warrant a government acting as a charitable organization.

Mr. DUGDALE said that public charity, dispensed by officials, was liable to great abuse. He considered out-door relief, administered by officials, as the worst form that relief could possibly assume; it killed the spirit of charity among the people. The distribution of out-door relief should be done in a systematic way, so as to reduce the number of dependents by reducing the causes which necessitated the relief. He referred with commendation to some of the laws of Scotland, where employers in factories are made to pay so much to the widows of men killed

in their employment. The employer is thus placed in a position where he finds it his interest to insure their lives. People living in a house with bad sanitary surroundings, should get out-door relief only on the condition of moving out of it. Men connected with the distribution of this charity should be educated to go to the places where pauperism is bred, and require the people to move out before giving them any help. They should see that the children attended school, and that they were learning some useful trade, by which to support themselves in after life. Small sums of money might also be loaned them, to aid in the purchase of machines required in their trades. A system of out-door relief, combining these features, and administered by voluntary help, would, he thought, have great force in reducing pauperism.

Mr. BACON of St. Louis explained how the poor, by the help of good ladies going among them, teaching the women how to work, and how to make the most of their resources, had received much good. He had carried out this scheme of voluntary visitors to the homes of the poor in New York and Brooklyn, and had found it to work well. His lady visitors called the children around them, talked and read to them, etc. He did not agree with those who supposed that being pious was a sufficient qualification for such visitors, and the ladies he spoke of were not of that kind. They must be women of intelligence and heart, who knew how to elevate the people. These poor classes had to be taught how to keep themselves and their houses clean, and how to make the most of their circumstances, and this called for more than an occasional donation of money. Sending people who were not high themselves, to elevate others, was a piece of folly.

Dr. CADWALADER of Philadelphia spoke of the method adopted in England, of dividing a city into districts, and having a charitable organization to visit the poor in each district, with a view of ascertaining the worthiness of the applicants before relieving them. It acted as an advisory board to the community. He would recommend some similar organization here, made up of delegates from the different churches. In regard to the Provident Dispensary, he did not think that it could exist side by side with a free dispensary.

Mr. THEODORE ROOSEVELT explained that the attempt made in New York lately, to organize the different charitable societies

of the city, failed for want of co-operation on the part of the societies themselves.

Mr. BARNARD of New York said that he had found physicians were at first generally opposed to the provident dispensary, but after a little examination, they gradually came around to it. The fact was, that now the older physicians were in favor of it.

Mr. WILLIAM STICKNEY of Washington said he had been connected with the distribution of out-door relief for several years. He had come here expecting to find a solution of the problem, but he was somewhat disappointed, not having had much light thrown on the subject. In Washington they had some forty thousand colored people, the majority of whom were dependent on charity during two or three months of the winter season. Congress, last year, had appropriated \$20,000 for the relief of the poor, and nineteen twentieths of it went to the colored people. Down in Washington we have an idea that labor of some kind should be performed by the pauper in exchange for the relief given; that an equivalent should be paid by the recipient for the relief that he has received. We also think that relief should be reduced to the lowest possible point, so that its recipients shall turn away from it and go to work for themselves at the earliest possible moment. That is our idea in Washington; namely, to combine labor with relief, and to reduce the latter to the lowest possible amount.

Mr. LORD of Michigan. Do you get anything in the shape of voluntary contributions in Washington?

Mr. STICKNEY. I doubt very much whether we should receive anything like enough to satisfy the demand. Very many of the residents are clerks living on their salaries, and having little to spare. I think it would be very difficult to raise ten or twelve thousand dollars for this purpose. Under our system, last year, we had some voluntary visitors and some who were paid.

Mr. SANBORN. Do you have in Washington any almshouses?

Mr. STICKNEY. We have one, but it is limited in capacity.

Mr. SANBORN. Has the question ever been raised there, of increasing the accommodations of the almshouse so as to diminish the number of those receiving out-door relief?

Mr. STICKNEY. No, sir. This demand for out-door relief comes about January. It is periodical, and if our almshouse

were large enough for all then, it would be empty a few months later.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. These people are generally shiftless, and do not provide in summer for their winter needs. They won't do it so long as they know that provision will be made for them by Congress. He asked Mr. Stickney if it were not possible for them to go South.

Mr. STICKNEY said that his opinion had been asked by the Senate Committee on Appropriations, before the bill appropriating \$20,000 had become a law, and he told them he had some serious misgivings as to whether the appropriations heretofore made had done any good. He would not recommend the appropriation, but said, if it was made, he would do all he could to have it properly dispensed. The people were poor; they had no labor, and had no means to go South or anywhere else.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Would it not be cheaper to use the \$20,000 in sending them South, than in giving it to them in the shape of out-door relief?

Mr. STICKNEY. It would have been.

Mrs. LOWELL thought that the point of making paupers work was a most important one. There was work in this country for every man, if he could only be put in connection with it. The money they raised to assist these people might be profitably expended in procuring them work, whether by an agent or otherwise.

Dr. WYLIE of New York quoted from a work of Professor Fawcett some figures asserting that pauperism in Ireland was only in the ratio of one to seventy-five of the inhabitants, while in England it was in the ratio of one to twenty-two. This was attributable to the different systems of relief adopted. In Ireland assistance was given mainly in the workhouse, and it was a reproach to receive it. In England it was given in the shape of out-door relief.

Professor WAYLAND said the error in Professor Fawcett's comparison was, that the Irish figures only included adult paupers, while those of England included all paupers.

Mr. SANBORN. I think the remarks made to-night have been directed rather to the abuses of out-door relief in cities, than to the general principle of out-door relief, which is undoubtedly correct. This principle has always been acted upon since the

creation of the world, and it will always be acted upon, in my opinion. Its abuse does not detract from its use. Out-door relief, to be properly administered, requires a knowledge of the circumstances of the recipients. I will venture to say that there is absolutely greater abuse practised in respect to indoor relief. The abuse of out-door relief takes place in the city, mainly; its best administration is in country places, where it is often administered with a great deal of discrimination, with a great deal of charity, and in many cases without pernicious effects; on the contrary, with most salutary effects in checking pauperism. Out-door relief, it is true, may increase pauperism, as has been asserted, but may also diminish it. When it is undertaken without reference to the individual character of the person receiving aid, it must fail of the best result, because the relations which charity establishes between the giver and the receiver are strictly personal. That is the reason why indoor relief is so much abused; it is difficult properly to meet individual circumstances. I would have the attention of the community directed to the proper use of out-door relief, and to the methods of improving it. I don't think the youngest of us will live to see it abolished. Out-door relief is actually increasing in every country in the world except, possibly, in England. It is increasing in Ireland. Irish statistics afford me another instance of what I reported upon this afternoon, — incorrect data, from which false inferences are drawn. There is not only an extension of out-door relief in Ireland, but there has long existed in that country a system of medical relief, which has all its abuses, and others in addition.

Professor WAYLAND then offered the following resolution, which was passed:—

Resolved, That we request the officers and trustees of our medical charities to consult as to the best means of preventing the abuse of their benefits by those not entitled to receive them, and the consequent loss of self-respect on the part of this class of beneficiaries.

Adjourned.

SECOND DAY'S SESSION.

THURSDAY, September 6, 1876.

The Conference reassembled at 10 o'clock this morning, Mr. Elmore of Wisconsin in the chair.

Mr. W. P. LETCHWORTH of New York then read the following—

REPORT ON DEPENDENT AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN.

In the short space allotted for this paper, it would be impossible to take other than a limited view of a subject so extended as that of the care of dependent, and the reformation of delinquent, children.

Although I have been in communication with Dr. Diller Luther of Pennsylvania, the Rev. F. H. Wines of Illinois, Mr. H. W. Lord of Michigan, and Mr. Charles L. Brace of New York, the other members of the committee who were appointed at the last conference of the Boards of Charities to consider and report upon this subject, and have gathered statistics and much valuable information relating to it in a general way, it has been impracticable for us to confer. I think my time will be best occupied, perhaps, in briefly sketching the growth of the work in New York State up to the present time, and in offering a few hints as to what seems possible in the future, leaving it to other gentlemen of the committee to discuss the subject generally, or to speak more particularly of the States they represent.

It is a pleasant reflection, that, with our more liberal and progressive civilization, the weak and helpless, especially those of tender years, who become very much what we make them, and are often the reverse of what we could wish through our neglect, are at present the objects of strong sympathy.

ORPHAN ASYLUMS.

There was a time in the history of New York State when an incorporated orphan asylum did not exist. When at length, through the noble efforts of Mrs. Isabella Graham and other ladies of New York city, it came into being in 1807, under the name of the Orphan Asylum Society of the City of New York,

its benefactions were restricted to the orphan class only. Soon the word *orphan* became expanded in its signification to include half-orphans, and later, to embrace destitute children having both parents living, many of whom were in a condition yet more unfortunate than orphanage.

In 1817 a work in the interest of Roman Catholic children of this class was begun under the auspices of what was then known as the Roman Catholic Benevolent Society, which has since attained considerable magnitude, and is at present conducted in three different asylums by the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society in the city of New York. An additional branch has within the past few years been established by this society on the Boland farm at Peekskill for the older boys.

In 1826 a similar project was undertaken in Brooklyn, under like auspices, which now includes the large establishments for both sexes in that city under the general direction of the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society.

The work thus inaugurated was taken up later in other parts of the State by ladies imbued with an earnest missionary spirit. As early as 1830, Mrs. Sophia D. Bagg of Utica made efforts in this direction, which culminated in the Utica Orphan Asylum; and Mrs. Orissa Healy, in Albany, projected a similar work, out of which was established the Albany Orphan Asylum in 1831.

In 1833 the Troy Orphan Asylum was organized, and two years later the Protestant Orphan Asylum of Brooklyn. In the same year the Asylum for the Relief of Half-Orphan and Destitute Children in the city of New York commenced operations, since which time an extension of this same work has taken place, resulting in the establishment of the following institutions: The Buffalo Orphan Asylum at Buffalo in 1836; the Rochester Orphan Asylum in 1837; the Onondaga County Orphan Asylum at Syracuse in 1841; the Leak and Watts Orphan House at New York in 1843; the Hudson Orphan Relief Association in the same year; the Society for the Relief of Destitute Children of Seamen at West New Brighton, Staten Island, in 1846; the Orphan Home and Asylum of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the city of New York in 1851; the Oswego Orphan Asylum at Oswego, and the Cayuga Asylum for Destitute Children at Auburn, in 1852; the Poughkeepsie Orphan House and Home for the Friendless at Poughkeepsie in 1857; the Jefferson County

Orphan Asylum at Watertown in 1859; the Union Home and School for the Benefit of the Children of Volunteers at New York in 1861; the Newburg Home for the Friendless at Newburg, and the Ontario County Orphan Asylum at Canandaigua, in 1862; the Davenport Institution for Female Orphan Children at Bath in 1863; the Sheltering Arms, on the family system, at New York in 1864, and the Southern Tier Orphan Home at Elmira in the same year.

In 1869 a work of great efficiency, though on a small scale, was inaugurated at Cooperstown, Otsego County, by Miss Susan Fenimore Cooper, by the establishment, in the interests of neglected and dependent children, of the Orphan House of the Holy Saviour. In the same year the Susquehanna Valley Home was established at Binghamton, for the special purpose of accommodating the dependent children of Broome and several adjoining counties, by means of which the system of keeping children in the poorhouses of the several counties was done away with.

In 1870 the Madison County Orphan Asylum was established, the late Gerrit Smith having donated a site and building to this object.

A work on a small scale for children of this class is conducted by the Lockport Home of the Friendless, and the Plattsburg Home of the Friendless.

A separate endeavor was made on behalf of destitute German children, by the establishment, under Roman Catholic auspices, of the German Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum in Buffalo in 1852, the St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum in New York in 1858, and the St. Joseph's Asylum in Rochester in 1862. A like work was undertaken by the German Lutheran Church, resulting in the establishment of the Evangelical Lutheran St. John's Orphan Home at Buffalo in 1864, which now comprises two departments, one for boys on a large farm at Sulphur Springs, near the city, and one for girls in the city. In 1866 the Wartburg farm school was established for German children at Mount Vernon, Westchester County, also under the auspices of the Lutheran Church.

As early as 1836, the Association for the Benefit of Colored Orphans was formed in the city of New York, and in 1868 the Howard Colored Orphan Asylum was organized in Brooklyn.

In 1855 a work growing out of the missionary labor among the Indians on the Cattaraugus Indian reservation, one which

strongly appeals to the sympathy of the benevolent, and based on the principle of justice, was begun under the name of the Thomas Asylum for Orphan and Destitute Indian Children.

In addition to the work already mentioned in New York and Brooklyn for the welfare of Roman Catholic children, in which should be included that of the Sisters of Mercy in Brooklyn, organized in 1855, and the Orphan Asylum of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, founded in 1861, and, in New York, the House of Mercy, and the St. Stephen's Home for Children, the latter established in 1868, an extensive enterprise has been carried on, mainly by sisterhoods of the Roman Catholic Church in other parts of the State. Under their zealous labors, institutions now in prosperous operation, were established in the sequence here shown: At Utica, the St. John's Female Orphan Asylum in 1834; at Rochester, the St. Patrick's Female Orphan Asylum in 1842; at Albany, the St. Vincent's Female Orphan Asylum in 1845; at Buffalo, the St. Vincent's Female Orphan Asylum, and the St. Joseph's Male Orphan Asylum, in 1849; at Troy, the St. Vincent's Female Orphan Asylum in 1850; at Syracuse, the St. Vincent's Female Orphan Asylum in 1852; at Dunkirk, the St. Mary's Orphan Asylum in 1857; and at Rochester, the St. Mary's Boys' Orphan Asylum in 1864. The Troy Catholic Orphan Asylum for Boys was established in 1850, and the St. Vincent's Male Orphan Asylum at Albany was founded in 1854. Both are managed by the Roman Catholic Order of Christian Brothers.

In connection with the charitable labors of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Brooklyn, Utica, Rochester, and Buffalo, a large work on behalf of unfortunate and destitute children is being conducted by the church charity foundations and church homes in these places. An important work, under the auspices of the same church, based on the family system, was established in St. Johnland, Long Island, by the late Reverend Doctor Muhlenberg. The House of the Good Shepherd, in Rockland County, is another fine illustration of this feature of the work of the Protestant Episcopal Church. A work for destitute children under similar auspices is also conducted on a limited scale in Albany.

The sisterhoods of this church are likewise variously engaged in New York in an extensive work for children, in connection

with the relieving of general distress. Among the institutions under their charge may be mentioned the Shelter for Respectable Girls, the Babies' Shelter, and the St. Barnabas House. A work of a similar character is conducted by ladies of Brooklyn under the name of the Association for the Aid of Friendless Women and Children.

In Brooklyn, also, the Sheltering Arms and the Brooklyn Nursery are doing a beneficent work in caring for infants.

In 1860 a grant of property was obtained from the city of New York by the Hebrew Benevolent Society, and a work on behalf of children of Hebrew parentage was successfully undertaken.

INSTITUTIONS FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB.

In 1818 the attention of the benevolent was directed to the education of the deaf and dumb, and an institution for their instruction was established in New York, called the New York Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb. From 1818 to 1857 this was the only organization in the State devoted to this object. In 1857 the Roman Catholic order of the Sisters of Charity opened an institution at Buffalo for the same class, called the Le Couteulx St. Mary's. Since this time the work has been carried on in several other places on a smaller scale, in New York city, in Rome, in Rochester; and by special Act of the Legislature of last winter, an additional institution for like purposes has been recognized, located at Fordham, and conducted by a Roman Catholic sisterhood.

REFORMATORIES.

The increase of juvenile delinquency became so pressing, and in 1824 assumed such alarming proportions, as to render the establishment of a reformatory an imperative necessity. This gave birth to the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents, more generally known as the New York House of Refuge, on Randall's Island. Both sexes were admitted. It seems remarkable that nothing further in this direction should have been attempted till the establishment of the Western House of Refuge at Rochester in 1814, which went into operation for boys only. Recently it has been permitted to enlarge its sphere and erect a girls' department. In 1851 the reformatory force

was augmented by the organization of the New York Juvenile Asylum. The desire on the part of those of the Roman Catholic faith to place their children under the teaching of their own church, led to the very important work now being vigorously conducted at the New York Catholic Protectory, which was begun in 1862. It comprises departments for both boys and girls. This was followed by the establishment of a similar institution in Buffalo in 1864.

An institution specially designed for idle and truant children was first established in 1853 at Rochester, which has recently been discontinued. Another was begun in Brooklyn in 1857.

In 1869, with the object of reforming a class of idle and refractory children, the municipal authorities of the city of New York purchased the ship "Mercury," and fitted it up as a training school. The boys were instructed in seamanship, and occasionally taken on distant voyages. This reformatory project was, however, abandoned in 1875.

Apart from what has been already outlined, sisterhoods of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches, as well as other Christian ladies, are engaged in an important work for the Magdalen class.

INSTITUTIONS FOR THE BLIND.

It is a little remarkable, and is illustrative of the progressive spirit of latter times in benevolent work, that it is only at so recent a period as 1784 that the first school for the education of the blind was established in Paris by the philanthropist, Valentin Haüy, who subsequently extended his work to some other cities in Europe. In this country the work was begun in 1832 almost simultaneously, in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, New York being but a few months in advance of the others. The New York Institution for the Blind, established in that year, originated in the benevolent spirit of its founders, and is a private corporation. The State for several years past has paid a stipulated sum for each pupil.

The New York State Institution for the Blind, at Batavia, was established in 1865. It is controlled by a board of trustees appointed by the governor, and is, strictly speaking, a State institution.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS AND LODGING-HOUSES.

The increasing tide of destitute children in New York led in 1835, under very adverse and discouraging circumstances, sufficient to deter any but the most resolute workers, and those imbued with strong faith, to the establishment of the American Female Reform and Guardian Society. These pioneer workers found their field continually enlarging.

In 1849 the society was reorganized under the name of the American Female Guardian Society, and broad foundations were laid for the great work which has since been carried on.

In 1853 special powers were granted by the Legislature for the better prosecution of its work, and industrial schools began to be established under its care, which, up to the present time, have been conducted with remarkable success.

It appears that about this period the number of idle and truant children in the streets of New York and Brooklyn, who were tending to criminal habits, became so numerous as to threaten serious consequences if efforts were not at once put forth for their care and reformation. Mr. Charles L. Brace has graphically portrayed the condition of these neglected children, and the importance to society of their being rescued.

A band of earnest and benevolent gentlemen enlisted for the work, and organized under the name of the Children's Aid Society. Lodging-houses were established, first on a small scale, and afterwards greatly enlarged. In connection with these, for the benefit of homeless children, a system of transplanting was inaugurated, by which means, up to 1875, there were placed in homes, mainly at the West, nearly forty thousand children. This society has also established twenty-one day industrial schools and thirteen night schools, in which an incalculable benefit has accrued to poor street children, who have been partly fed, clothed, and instructed. A peculiar feature of the work of this society, also, is its girls' lodging-house, in which homeless girls are taught to use the sewing-machine, and are helped in various ways to recover the lost threads of a better destiny. About the time that the work of the Children's Aid Society was inaugurated in New York, an undertaking was begun by the ladies of Brooklyn, which led to the organization of the Brooklyn Industrial School Association, under which some four

industrial schools, in different parts of Brooklyn, have been established, as also an orphan house, or temporary asylum. In 1866 an association of public-spirited gentlemen established in that city the Children's Aid Society, which comprises two lodging-houses and two industrial schools. A correspondingly laudable endeavor to save neglected youth of this class, though on a smaller scale, has been put forth by Roman Catholic citizens of Brooklyn and New York, lodging-houses in each city being conducted by the societies of St. Vincent de Paul.

The work of gathering into industrial schools the wretched children from populous centres, washing them, attiring them when needed, instructing them in the elementary branches, giving them a dinner, teaching them sewing, and sending them to their homes at night, with such moral instruction as faithful teachers may impart, has not been confined to the cities of New York and Brooklyn, but it has also been carried on in Williamsburg, Albany, Troy, and Rochester. In New York, too, the Ladies' Home Missionary Society, the Five Points House of Industry, the Wilson's Industrial School, the Howard Mission for Little Wanderers, and others, are engaged in this work.

ASYLUMS FOR INFANTS AND FOUNDLINGS.

It becomes a matter of surprise that there was no institution of the character of a foundling asylum establishment in this State till 1852, when the St. Mary's Asylum for Widows and Foundlings was organized in Buffalo, by the Sisters of Charity, a benevolent citizen having donated land for that purpose. This was followed by the establishment of the Nursery and Child's Hospital in New York City in 1854, in 1865 by the New York Infant Asylum, and in 1869 by the extensive foundling asylum of the Sisters of Charity in New York City. The Nursery and Child's Hospital has a large country branch at West New Brighton. The Infant Asylum conducts its work in two different localities in New York City, and has likewise a country branch at Flushing.

INSTITUTIONS FOR THE CARE OF IDIOTS.

New York was the second State in the Union to make provision for the instruction of teachable idiots. A private school was opened in 1848 in Massachusetts. This State began the

work in 1851 at Albany. The New York State Institution was incorporated and placed under the charge of Dr. H. B. Wilbur, the founder of the private school at Barre, Massachusetts. It was removed in 1855 to Syracuse, its present location. A large school for the instruction of idiots was subsequently opened on Randall's Island.

INDUSTRIAL HOMES FOR GIRLS.

One of the commendable out-growths of modern charitable work has been the establishment of institutions for training older girls approaching womanhood, many of whom are transferred from orphan asylums to these places. These homes are mainly conducted by Roman Catholic sisterhoods. The first was established in New York City in 1856 by the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, where young girls were taught plain sewing, embroidery, dress and cloak making, the use of the different sewing-machines, and domestic duties. A like institution was established in Rochester in 1857, by the Sisters of Mercy, and another in the same place in 1873, by Sister Hieronyma, who took up this work after founding the St. Mary's Hospital in that city. An Industrial Home is also in operation at Albany and at Brooklyn, both managed by the Sisters of Charity, and also the St. Joseph's Industrial School of New York, a branch of the Institution of Mercy.

HOSPITALS FOR CHILDREN.

A beautiful illustration of disinterested charity is shown in the recent establishment of hospitals for children. St. Luke's Hospital, of New York City, has a department specially devoted to children, under the charge of the Sisters of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The hospital has been in operation since 1850, and many little sufferers have been the recipients of loving care within its walls. In 1862 the New York Society for the Relief of the Ruptured and Crippled was established, and through its medium thousands of children and adults have been saved from complete dependency. Its beneficent operations not only relieve suffering, but restore to usefulness the crippled and deformed. The sisterhoods of the Protestant Episcopal Church have inaugurated a hospital work distinctively for children, though pursuing somewhat different methods. St. Mary's Free Hospital for Children, in New

York City, and the Child's Hospital in Albany, are institutions to which children are directed by humane physicians and ladies under circumstances where they cannot in their homes receive the care necessary to their recovery. Numbers of children in these hospitals have, by the superior care afforded them, and the skilful treatment of physicians, serving without pay, been saved from blindness and life-long incapacity in other ways.

In connection with the great work for children, it would be gratifying to speak, did space permit, of its great beauty and efficiency, taken as a whole, as also of the more prominent workers in the several fields of labor, comprising ladies and gentlemen professing various religious faiths, and all possessing large hopes in the future of humanity.

STATISTICS.

A special report made by the State Board of Charities for 1875 showed that the number of children in the institutions referred to, exclusive of those in industrial schools, day homes, and lodging-houses, was 17,791 ; of these, 9,404 were boys and 8,387 were girls. The proportion of orphans was 3,889, and of half-orphans, 7,610. There were 3,110 about whom it could not be ascertained whether their parents were living or not.

The total amount expended on behalf of these children for that year, as nearly as it could be ascertained, was, in round numbers, \$2,689,500. It is creditable to be able to state, and the knowledge must give satisfaction to every benevolent heart, that this large sum was in a considerable part derived from sources of private benevolence.

ACTION OF THE STATE BOARD.

Notwithstanding the efforts put forth by the benevolent and intelligently informed on behalf of unfortunate children, up to the year 1875 the poorhouses of the State were largely used as receptacles for the rearing and training of this class. Subjected to the degrading influences and associations surrounding them, they were likely, as has been abundantly demonstrated, from this stage to graduate into pauper or criminal life. It is true, that, in some counties more enlightened than others, a provision was made for these children in orphan asylums ; but at the time of the organization of the State Board of Charities in 1868,

there were about 2,663 children in the poorhouses and almshouses of the State. The Board, at the outset, promptly directed the attention of the Legislature to this evil as it affected the county poorhouses, and to the consequences of this system. Nevertheless, at the beginning of 1874, the number still remaining in these establishments was 2,126, being a reduction of about 500. This reduction had taken place entirely in the county poorhouses. The numbers in the city almshouses had slightly increased.

In 1874 a special effort was made to gather statistics on this subject, and information was obtained by personal visitations of the secretary and members of the Board, the result of which was submitted to the Legislature.

Subsequently, an Act was passed, requiring all healthy children over three years of age, except unteachable idiots, and those unfitted for family care, to be removed from the poorhouses and almshouses of the State by the first of January, 1876, and prohibiting their commitment in future to these establishments.

This Act has been heartily supported by superintendents of the poor and other officials charged with the care of this class, and has been sustained by public sentiment throughout the State. Its operation has resulted in the liberation of thousands of children from the dark destiny of poorhouse life, and has placed them in situations where they are likely to attain to honorable and useful citizenship. Grand results have already followed from this law; but it is impossible to estimate the full benefit that may eventually accrue to society by its operation.

Having indulged in this retrospective glance, we will now turn our attention in an opposite direction, and consider the possibilities of the future, and the practical aspects that the subject now assumes.

CHILDREN YET IN POORHOUSES.

First. The removal of healthy and intelligent children having been effected, as also the deaf and dumb and the blind, it would seem well to complete the work by accepting at once the principle as fundamental, that the poorhouse is not a proper place for children of any age or condition.

The statistics relating to the defective children in the poorhouses, which appear in the last report of the State Board of

Charities, were mainly based upon a personal examination extensively made by the Secretary of the Board. This examination shows that there were 112 diseased and crippled children over three years of age remaining in the poorhouses on the 1st of October, 1876, many of whom are of bright intellect, who, if separated from poorhouse associations, and placed under skilled medical treatment, might be restored and trained to industrial pursuits, and thus be made useful to society, and, in many places, self-supporting.

There were, also, 128 of the unteachable idiots and feeble-minded class. Their condition in poorhouses is deplorable, and a custodial institution is greatly needed, not only for them, but for such as, having no friends to care for them, have yet received training at Syracuse or New York institutions so as to be capable, under competent supervision, of self-support. Under present arrangements, the only refuge for them is a return to the poorhouse from which they had been taken, and in which they soon sink down into a state where the benefit of previous training is lost. Under this system, also, the progeny of this class multiplies to increase the burdens of the tax-payer, and lower the standard of the race. Institutions of this character are already in successful operation, and are evidently a necessity here. I imagine that every superintendent of the poor in this State, if asked his opinion, would assert the great need of such an institution. At the State Convention of Superintendents of the Poor, held at Poughkeepsie in 1875, a resolution to this effect was unanimously passed. It would seem clear that the two classes of children referred to are entitled to equal consideration with those for whom proper provision has already been made elsewhere than in the poorhouse, and that the principle which required those to be removed is applicable to these that remain, and in keeping with justice and public economy. When they shall have been removed, it may be said that the system of rearing children under pauper influences and associations has been set aside by the State of New York as something belonging to a less enlightened age.

NEED OF INTERMEDIATE REFORMATORIES.

Second. Another aspect of this important work presents itself in the need of further provision for the reformation of idle and truant children.

The institutions which now receive this class,—the New York Juvenile Asylum, New York Catholic Protectory, St. John's Catholic Protectory, Buffalo, and the Truant Home in Brooklyn,—being merely local in their scope, afford only partial relief in this direction, and to-day, in a large portion of the State, no provision whatever for this class exists. In our orphan asylums, it has been found that a class of children float into them who need a restraint and discipline that cannot be enforced in such institutions. The presence in orphan asylums of children who are uncontrollable under ordinary rules, exercises an injurious effect upon the other children. It is often so great that the utmost watchfulness on the part of the teachers cannot counteract it. The interest, both of an ungovernable child and of the institution itself, requires its removal.

To place such a child in a house of refuge, among incorrigible and hardened offenders, many of them mature in years and crime, is evidently unwise, and must result in an influence being exerted on him proportionately as injurious as his influence was injurious upon the children in the institution from which he was removed.

There are also, in every county throughout the State, considerable numbers of children who have broken loose from parental control, who need some kind of reformatory training, and whom to send to houses of refuge would be impolitic and unjust.

It is believed that, at the present time, there are, in these prison-like institutions, numbers of inmates of the vagrant and truant class, who, by their contact with criminal associations, are endangered, and become worse instead of better. In these institutions, as at present constituted, proper classification is not practicable. Hence the need of other provisions for those who are endangered by being committed there.

This subject has already pressed itself upon the attention of county officials. At the last State Convention of the Superintendents of the Poor, after much deliberate discussion of this subject, it was resolved unanimously, that, "Whereas, there are, in our cities and villages, large numbers of children whose unrestrained habits of life are leading them into pauperism and crime; therefore, be it resolved, that, in the opinion of this Convention, institutions of a correctional character, and intermediate between

the orphan asylum and the house of refuge, are needed, and that those institutions will attain the best results the more nearly they conform to the family system."

It being evident that further reformatory agencies are needed for the work of child-saving, it becomes very important that, at this juncture, we avail ourselves of the experience of other States and countries before setting in operation any new scheme. It is believed that the Massachusetts system of a general visiting agent; the Michigan system, with its visiting committees in each county; the Connecticut system, as illustrated in the Reform School for Girls at Middletown; the Ohio system, with its Reform School at Lancaster, based upon the family system, now in its thirteenth year, which has no walled enclosure, with 305 inmates, and only five runaways recorded within the past year, afford features worthy of study. The French system, as illustrated at Mettray; the Netherlands system, as seen at Arnheim; the Rauhe Haus system of Germany, and others, are worthy of careful consideration.

It is claimed that the certified industrial schools and the reformatory schools both of England and Scotland, which are enterprises founded on private benevolence, and partly aided by the State, have attained highly satisfactory results, and are among the best methods now known for repressing crime and saving children. They should be thoroughly examined and fully comprehended by those devising new modes of procedure. But whatever methods may be adopted, it is safe to say that the following principles should be recognized:—

First. The work should be under the control and direction of disinterested benevolence.

Second. Its expense should be defrayed in part by private charity, in order to keep alive Christian interest and sympathy with its aims and objects.

Third. The personal influence of those who engage in the work from philanthropic motives should be brought to bear upon each child, which, it is now generally conceded, can be best done under the family system.

Fourth. The co-operation of women of elevated character is necessary to the attainment of the highest success.

Fifth. The inculcation of moral and religious principles, the

awakening of hope, and the building up of self-respect, are so obviously essential as to hardly need mention.

Sixth. Reformatory means and appliances should be adjusted to the child's disposition. A knowledge of its antecedents is therefore necessary to the reformer. The delinquent child should be regarded as morally diseased, and a diagnosis of its moral condition held essential to its cure.

Seventh. In small institutions, located in the country, where out-door employment, especially such as farming and gardening, is succeeded by indoor industrial training during the winter, thus drawing the wayward from city life by teaching them country avocations, good results may be looked for.

Eighth. Parents able to do so, should be made to contribute to the support of their children while under reformatory treatment.

Ninth. As far as possible, reformed children should be transplanted away from the vicious associations by which they were led astray.

Tenth. Interest in the children should be maintained, following them with watchful care and wise counsel till they reach maturity.

It has been aptly said that it takes all the energies of one generation to save the next. With such formidable obstacles as lie before the Christian philanthropist, it behooves us to set about the task with faith and courage, for soon "the night cometh when no man can work."

DEBATE ON MR. LETCHWORTH'S REPORT.

At the conclusion of the paper, Mr. Letchworth said: "Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—I realized, before I came here, that there would be present numerous and long-trying workers in the poor children's cause, whose wise counsel and varied experience would be of great value to this Conference. I see their faces before me now. I have made this paper purposely short, and have abridged it in the process of reading, that others, worthily more distinguished than myself, might be heard from. I hope and trust, the way being now open, that we shall have a full discussion upon this very important subject."

Mr. LORD of Michigan said, that though he had been asked to supplement what might be wanting in the paper of Mr. Letch-

worth, being associated with him on the committee, he did not see how he could add anything to so exhaustive a survey. Some few years ago efforts had been made to remove the children from the evil influences of the poorhouses in Michigan. It resulted in the establishment, by the State, of an institution at Coldwater, for such children as were fit to be taken away from the poorhouses. The idea was to keep them as short a time as possible, till they were transferred to homes on farms or in private families. It was intended that no more children should be committed to the poorhouses after that; but the change in the times, the commercial pressure, and other influences had increased the number of dependent children beyond the capacity of the school, and at the present time there were still in the poorhouses of the State between two and three hundred children. The school was being enlarged to accommodate three or four hundred in all; and the ultimate wish of the Board of Charities was to have another institution erected for the purpose of removing the remaining children from the county houses. He considered destitute children as the wards of the State. The State had claims upon their services in an emergency, and the children in turn had a claim upon the State to be taken care of, in default of parents, or parental ability. This care should be of such a nature as to render them valuable to the State. The speaker here referred to the sayings of Lycurgus, Plato, and other heathen philosophers, in reference to the duty of the State to its dependent children. The State of Michigan was endeavoring to take the best possible care of its wards. The reform schools were spoken of at some length; their walls had been taken down, their guards removed, and the boys were held there only by an appreciation of their own interests, and an attachment for their teachers. In regard to private charities, he remarked that the Sisters of the Roman Catholic Church had several institutions in Detroit for destitute children. They were managed with great efficiency. The Sisters seemed to have a peculiar faculty for carrying on a great deal of work with a very small expenditure of money. Their insane asylum at Detroit had sixty patients, who were most admirably cared for. The St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum for Girls, in Detroit, was the only institution (he was sorry to say) in the State of Michigan for looking after destitute girls. It accommodated about two hun-

dred. Almost all of them, before the age of sixteen or eighteen years, were able to find good places. The Sisters of the Immaculate Heart had also an Orphan Asylum for boys in the same city, accommodating about sixty. It was in excellent condition. The Industrial School, under Protestant auspices, for the dependent children of the city, was also doing a great work. The children were furnished with books, good dinners, and occasional supplies of clothing. It was a very popular institution, and deservedly so. The Detroit Board of Trade gets up an annual festival for the benefit of this charity, from which the ladies in charge realize from \$800 to \$1,200 each year.

Mr. TILTON of Wisconsin said he was growing quite serious over this matter, and not only serious, but, he might say, almost burdened. The paper of Mr. Letchworth was interesting in its historical and suggestive character, but the hard fact remained, that as communities grew older, the appropriations for the criminal and unfortunate classes also increased. Advancing East, it was found that prisons were multiplying, insane asylums were multiplying, orphan asylums were multiplying, and paupers and all the criminal and unfortunate classes were constantly increasing. What was the logic of all this? What would be the condition of American society two hundred years hence, if all this kept going on in the same ratio? What the outlay in this direction would be, when the population of America had reached two hundred and fifty millions, was to him appalling. Is it true that there is a general defect in our methods of preventing crime and misfortune, or that we have not yet reached the bottom of this question? He thought we had a right to demand of the older communities, that, with their growing wealth and intelligence, they should grapple with this problem, and show us how to lessen the evil, instead of allowing it to increase. If they could not do this, then he considered we had a right to demand of them a confession that their methods are defective, or that they have not yet reached a solution of the problem. He wanted to know if our civilization was prepared to take hold of the evil lying back of all this. Was our civilization of such a character as to be bold enough to interfere with the marriage laws of the country? What right had a diseased man or woman to be permitted to marry? What right had society to allow this class to increase and burden the tax-payers with their support?

This question of heredity was too delicate a subject to discuss, and yet it must be grappled with in order to conquer these evils. It was a slow work, but he thought we should never advance very much in the civilization of the world till we settled this question. It was a legitimate subject for such an organization as this to consider. Public attention should be called to it. He was very glad when he got hold of the pamphlet on the "Juke" family. He thought it ought to be in every family in the land. Instead of making the marriage laws of the country more liberal, they ought to be very much abridged.

Mr. TOUSEY of New York said: There is another class of children not yet referred to, that may be numbered by the thousand, who are not idiots or truants or criminals. I refer to the neglected ones. They are not orphans; they have something that answers to the name of home, though in a very minute degree, so far as home comforts are concerned. I wish to call your attention to an occurrence which took place in this building yesterday, showing one type of this neglected class. About four o'clock, I went down into the lock-up, at the northeast corner of this edifice. It is a miserable place, ill-ventilated and poorly lighted. When the windows are closed in winter, the air, I am told, becomes so foul from the drunk and disorderly inmates congregated there, that animal life is sustained with great difficulty. On entering, I found two decently dressed men and a little boy, a boot-black, about seven or eight years old. I asked the jailer, "What is this boy here for?" He replied, "For pilfering fruit." Then, turning to the boy, I said, "Sonny, what is your name?" "Jim Sweeny." "Have you a father?" "Yes." "Does he know you are here?" "I don't know whether he does or not." "What does he do for a living?" "Don't do anything." "Do you ever go to Sunday school?" "No. Haven't got any clothes."

Turning to the jailer, I said, "What do you know about this boy?" "He is a bad boy, and he is connected with a gang of young vagabonds who have been stealing fruit all the summer." "What do you know about his father?" "His father is known as 'Patsey the Dog,' because he is a miserable, drunken scamp, who goes walking round the streets, and if he sees a stray dog anywhere, he picks him up, keeps him a day or two, and then sells him for whiskey, upon which he and his wife get drunk."

They visit this police court very often. I am afraid this boy is steering in the same way."

Now, this thing will go on for awhile. By and by, when some of this Conference are visiting the state prisons, they will find that boy a confirmed, habitual criminal. Just so sure as society does not interfere, will that boy become so familiar with iron bars and jail life, that the state prison will have no terrors for him, and when at length he arrives at maturity, he will, like "Margaret the mother of criminals," leave children to follow his downward course in crime, and burden the State. All our county jails are contributing to this dreadful result. What is to be done under these circumstances? The gentleman from Michigan told us that the State assumed a superiority over the parent in its control and care of the child. This is the only correct principle. Parental rights are all very well, but the State has a right over the parent, and it should come in, by its superior power, and take hold of the child of "Patsey the Dog," remove him from the influences that surround him, and preserve him from becoming a criminal, by placing him under better influences. We have no institution for such children. The nearest to it is that known as "The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children." Its powers and duties, however, are not of a class to embrace the boy I have described, and we still need a provision for such children as the son of "Patsey the Dog." Society must rescue these neglected ones from their evil surroundings, or its burdens of crime and misery will be greater than can be borne.

Mrs. LOWELL of New York spoke in confirmation of what Mr. Tousey had stated. In answer to Mr. Tilton, it seems to me the experience of England is, that for the last twenty years there has been a steady diminution of crime, and this is traced to the establishment of the certified industrial schools referred to by Mr. Letchworth. Crime has diminished in England absolutely. We certainly ought not to be discouraged, if we have not succeeded to the extent desired, because we have never taken the trouble to care for these children properly. In the jails of every city in the State there are such children as Mr. Tousey described. They go from there first to the house of refuge, then to the state prison. The reason why crime increases in the older communities is to be found in our own neglect. With the example of England before us, we have every reason for hopeful-

ness. In the English county of Gloucester, thirty years ago, there were six jails, with about two hundred prisoners. To-day five of the jails have been pulled down, as no longer needed. This is some of the fruit of the industrial school work.

The CHAIRMAN. In the State of Wisconsin every boy under sixteen years of age must be sent to the industrial school.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. The discussion has been somewhat divergent. The question of hereditary transmission seems properly to belong to the afternoon discussion. I would like, however, to say a word on the original subject. The institution children are not desirable. They are not able to take care of themselves so well as those children who have been brought in contact with the world. Children should be brought up in the position that they are intended to fill in life. On that account I object to their being taught to play the piano, unless they are going to make it a means of support. I think England may teach us a lesson in this respect. Children educated in an institution are more likely to fall back into the dependent classes than children brought up outside in families; not because they are not pure on leaving the institution, but because they have not been accustomed to take care of themselves. I understand that even in some countries of our State the dependent children are all placed in families. I think more stress ought to be laid on this matter. Benevolent ladies think that during their early years these children should be guarded from temptation, and that this is best accomplished by keeping them in an institution. The fact is, that they are less able to bear temptation when brought up in an institution. In the event of dependent children being supported by the State, a law should be passed, limiting the time when the State should provide for such children in any institution. They should be transferred to families as fast as possible.

Mrs. MARCUS SPRING alluded to the marriage laws of Germany, restricting this privilege to classes competent to marry. She thought that America should copy somewhat in her statutes on the marriage question from those of the older countries, with a view to check the growth of the dependent classes.

Mr. BRADFORD did not know how it was possible to curse children more than by institutionizing them. He thought that such a proceeding was a very great crime. In his opinion, a child brought up in an institution, and kept there year after

year, would not become self-supporting. Such children will be dependent upon the State as long as they live. On the other hand, he did not believe in the taking off of children to the West by the forty thousand. He wanted to know where they went to. He spoke of the danger of taking children from the street, directly into families, without any previous preparation, and advocated the institution as being, in many cases, a preparation for family life, urging at the same time that the stay in the institution should be as short as possible. When children have been neglected, when their very natures have been vitiated by parental neglect, they must go through an institution to be prepared for admission to any respectable family.

Professor CHACE of Rhode Island said our poor children that have grown up to be men and women have proved to be quite as good members of society as those brought up in boarding schools.

Mr. CLARK, Superintendent of the Poor of Orleans County, N.Y., said: I represent a constituency of thirty thousand. I have been Superintendent of the Poor for four and a half years. I had sixty-four children under my charge. At the present time our county is caring for four. I place the children who are thrown upon the county in homes. Any home to me is better than an asylum. I would rather place children in a home than anywhere else. Homes in the country are the best for the boys and for the girls too. The boys learn to plough, and the girls are drilled to be useful and efficient housekeepers. When I place a child in a home, I visit it afterwards, and look after it. If I find the child is ill-treated, I take it away and place it in another home, where it will be well-treated. Before a child is sent to any home, I have it washed. I have good clothes put on it, and I see that this suit of clothes is kept up in the family where I place it. I have no difficulty in finding homes for children. When a child is brought to me, I advertise in the papers that I have a child in want of a home, and very soon there are a great many applicants. I select the best, and place the child there. I tell you, gentlemen, Christian homes are the places for children.

On motion, this order of business was laid on the table at noon, to hear the reading of a paper from Mr. Dugdale.

At 12 o'clock, the discussion of Mr. Letchworth's paper having been postponed, a paper on—

HEREDITARY PAUPERISM,

AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE "JUKE" FAMILY,

Was read by Mr. R. L. Dugdale, a member of the Executive Committee of the New York Prison Association, as follows:—

"The Jukes" is a pseudonym which was given to a numerous family living in Ulster County, N.Y., who came under the observation of the reader of this paper while making an official examination of the county jails in 1874, in behalf of the Prison Association of New York.

An account of these "Jukes" was embodied in a report and transmitted to the legislature, in which was reviewed the harlotry, illegitimacy, crime, pauperism, disease, and general social condition of the stock. In a revised form, it has since been reprinted, and created sufficient public interest to procure me the honor of an invitation to read the present paper on "Hereditary Pauperism, as illustrated in 'The Juke' Family"; which restricts me to the consideration of only one of the subjects set forth in the Prison Association Report.

When stated in abstract terms, the question I am called upon to treat involves an examination into the correlation which exists between physical, biological, and social phenomena. In discussing it, I am constrained by the terms of the inquiry to notice the difference of effects produced by causes which are constant, as compared to causes which are variable; to note the significance of effects which are constant, as compared to those which are mutable; and to bring adequate proof that a given effect is the result of a cause ascribed, or a given cause the necessary antecedent of an effect noted.

The first observation of hereditary transmission is as old as antiquity, and was purely empirical. It consisted in the recognition of resemblances between the features of parent and child, and occasionally eccentric traits. But when the physicians directed the inquiry in its relation to disease, and the breeders of cattle applied ascertained rules to produce or perpetuate a given quality in a given animal, so as to make it the characteristic of a stock, the study was conducted with a degree of zeal and exactness which established, beyond dispute, that heredity also transmits chronic constitutional affections, insanity, idiocy, disease, longevity, temperament, instinct, and passion.

But the doctrine of heredity has been pushed still further by those extremists who believe it is the preponderating factor in psychology, until it is claimed that genius, special intellectual aptitude, and recondite moral qualities are, of necessity, transmitted to posterity. It is here, more especially, that these extremists are met by those who claim that adaptation to environment by variation of characteristics is just as true as permanence of types, is quite as necessary to the preservation of life through countless ages, enters as much in the formation of human character, and accounts for certain phenomena more satisfactorily than does the doctrine of heredity. They urge that a knowledge of effects by no means necessarily leads to a knowledge of causes, and that for this reason the advocates of hereditary transmission endeavor to fortify their position by adducing doubtful analogies as a justification of their conclusions, if not as a form of proof. For instance, to say that because instinct in animals is transmitted, therefore subtle moral qualities are equally transmissible in human beings, is one of these unsound analogies; because there is a great difference in the effect of an invariable cause which persists unchanged for ages, and of a variable cause that fluctuates in intensity with successive generations. Instinct in the animal is a mode of action which has been fixed by the unchangeableness of the environment through countless generations, until the faculty has become an "eternal memory" which stimulates the automatic acts; while the human being, having the power to alter his environment, has produced such a variety of changes in that portion of it which relates to his social relations, that no fixedness of moral character could be established which would correspond to the automacy of instinct as found in the insect or the bird. Consequently, the human being is forced to have recourse to training to maintain in the child the kind of moral capacity found in the parent, which otherwise would reappear by pure entailment.

Believing that both heredity and variation are true, and that the issue between those who magnify either side relates to the limits of each, and the precedence in order of importance of the one over the other at alternate points, it seemed to me fortunate that I should find in the "Jukes" so many intermarriages within the degrees of first and second cousins that they approximate to what breeders call "breeding in and in," laying, so to speak,

alongside of cases of crossing into other stocks, so that the results of homogeneous and heterogeneous causes could be contrasted, and community of parentage submitted to the test of diversity of environment.

I therefore grouped all the obtainable facts in the lineage according to the order of their occurrence, constructing genealogical charts, so as to make the facts comparable generation to generation, condition to condition, sequence with sequence. Thus were brought into relief the constant features that might be hereditary, and, perchance, the cause of this constancy; thus was noted the effect of environment, whether it could produce variation in the posterity, and of what kind and degree. I thus excluded artificial arrangement, accepting what came as it came, because this seemed to be the surest way to exclude preconceptions.

Sometime between 1740 and 1770, six sisters were born, who are the mothers of "the Jukes," from whom have sprung five generations of children, and to which is to be added another generation, — the father of the husbands of two of the Juke women, — so that our study covers seven generations of people.

To distinguish those persons who are directly descended from the blood of these five women from that of the persons they married, the former will be spoken of as "Juke blood" and the latter as "the X blood." In this way we can facilitate the study of heredity. Inasmuch as we have no knowledge of the posterity of one of the sisters, we will call the other five by names which begin with the first five letters of the alphabet,—"Ada," "Bell," "Clara," "Delia," "Effe." "Max" shall be the name given to the father of the two husbands who married respectively Effe and Delia Juke.

There have been tabulated, of the "Juke" and "X" stocks, 709 persons living and dead, 540 of them direct descendants of the "Juke" sisters, and 169 of the X blood. Besides these, about 125 more lives have been partially searched up, but have not been included in the tabulations, or arranged in the genealogical charts. In looking over these charts, upon which the entire present study is based, you will find lines of descent which are distinctively industrious, distinctively criminal, or distinctively pauperized. It is not claimed that because there is continuity of characteristics from generation to generation, therefore the

features are hereditary, but it is one essential element in such proof the validity of which is to be established as respects pauperism.

With the Jukes crime preponderates in branches that spring from bastard stock, who have married into X; it favors the male lines of descent, and it is thirty times more frequent than in the community at large. Further, the criminal, as compared to the pauper, is more vigorous; "for very much of crime is the misdirection of faculty, and is amenable to discipline, while very much of pauperism is due to the absence of vital power, . . . which causes from generation to generation the successive extinction of capacity till death supervenes." *

If we follow the intermarried branches, we find a preponderance of girls and of pauperism, which latter prevails to a degree ranging from four to nine times more than for the State, as by the returns of the State Board of Charities for 1871.

The impudicity of "the Juke" women is twenty-nine times greater than that of the average of women, and, as a result, one-fourth of the children are illegitimate, not a few of them being born during the imprisonment of the husband. It is further noticeable, that the families which contain criminal or pauper brothers are those in which occurs prostitution among the sisters. Where the brothers are reputable and honest laborers, so, in the main, are the sisters chaste; and this relationship between brothers and sisters is so marked that we may affirm of "the Jukes" that prostitution in the woman is the analogue of crime and pauperism in the man.†

We have remarked that the law of heredity is much more firmly established in the domain of physiological and pathological conditions than it is as respects the transmission of intellectual and moral aptitudes. In proportion as we approach features which are moulded by education, they are less transmissible, and more completely governed by the laws of variation, which are largely referable to environment. For this reason, in estimating the significance of persistent social conditions, it is more safe to follow physiological traits as indices of heredity; and where these are found to be necessarily connected with moral, intellectual, or social phenomena, we shall have a firm foundation for assert-

* "The Jukes," 3d ed., p. 50. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

† Id., p. 25.

ing that hereditary entailment is the proximate cause of such phenomena.

If we compare the proportion of pauperism among the "Jukes" who are diseased to that among those who are healthy, we shall find that fifty-six out of a hundred of the diseased come under public charge, and only seventeen out of a hundred from among those who are healthy. From the computation of the diseased are excluded children who have died even of hereditary maladies, because such children have no significance as causes of pauperism; they are only effects and exemplars of it.

Out of these eighty-five cases of disease, only two are of tubercular consumption, although this county shows a larger proportionate death-rate from this cause than from any other. If we look at syphilis, however, we shall find forty-two cases of primary and twenty-five of constitutional, making sixty-seven out of eighty-five diseased persons, or seventy-nine per cent.—almost four-fifths. But although, by actual count, nearly eleven per cent. of the "Jukes" are blighted with this disease, I am informed by some of the town physicians who have officially attended the poor for a number of years, that from twenty-five to thirty per cent. of the stock is thus tainted.

Significant as are these figures, they are weak as compared to the lesson which they teach, when we follow the ravages of this class of disorders from generation to generation, and see the harvest of death, of blight, and of suffering they leave in their course.

Now, we proceed, by citing instances, to determine how far disease has necessary relation to hereditary pauperism—if the continuity of the one depends upon the persistence of the other.

During the war of 1812, the oldest legitimate son of Ada Juke, whom we shall call Hans, became, at about twenty-five years of age, a volunteer in a regiment partly raised in Ulster, partly in Schoharie County. Following the regiment was a woman so notorious in her time, that she has left a traditional reputation of infamy in both counties which survives to this day. From her Hans contracted malignant syphilis. He was licentious in youth, and in after-life, indolent to a degree that he had to be driven in the harvest-field to get a day's work out of him. At forty-five, and again at fifty-two, he was in the poorhouse.

When he died is not certain, but he probably did not survive his fifty-fifth year. This man married a "Juke" first cousin, and had eight legitimate children, seven of them girls, upon whom he entailed his disease, which, combined with the effects of the consanguinity of the parentage, seems to have produced marked social effects.

The youngest daughter by this marriage was a congenital idiot, and drifted into the poorhouse with her father. She stayed there eight years, and, though the records make no statement of her subsequent fate, she probably died there at sixteen years of age. The relation between a fixed pathological condition—syphilis—and a casual social one—pauperism—as seen in the father, becomes a correlation in the case of the daughter. We thus authenticate absolute hereditary pauperism, for syphilis is a cause of idiocy. The disease which pauperized the parent, and no doubt cut short his life, is entailed upon the daughter in a form so conspicuously blighting, that the statement of the case is also the proof that such pauperism is only the social aspect of physical degeneration; and, as it runs two generations before death cuts off the career, it is hereditary. As we have established heredity at this point, let us see if there are not indications of its presence elsewhere in the lineage.

The eldest daughter of Hans is weak-minded and blind, married to a man who is also weak-minded and blind, and she transmits, in the form of premature death, to six out of her eight children, the syphilis she has inherited in the form of imbecility and blindness; the vitality of her two surviving daughters being impaired. A boy, aged five, died in the poorhouse; one of the surviving daughters received out-door relief; and the other, at seventeen, was sent for vagrancy to the poorhouse, where a bastard child was probably born. This daughter is smitten with syphilis, and has two illegitimate girls, whose fate I could not learn. Here inherited disease precedes, pauperism follows; only a generation is skipped, and that generation is itself gravitating to the poorhouse. I said a generation is skipped, but I forget, this third daughter of Ada's is a prostitute, which in the woman is the analogue of pauperism in the man. Then we have pauperism in that generation also; the only question to determine is, whether the licentiousness is hereditary. As a fact, we find it in every generation—the mother of the stock, Ada Juke; the

son Hans ; the granddaughter and her husband ; the great-granddaughters, who are both punished for "vagrancy," which in these over-nice times is the official euphonism for prostitution ; and the example survives for the great-great-granddaughters, unless they succumb to death. The sexual passion approaches to an instinct ; it is more persistent in its entailment than is the sense of sight. In other words, it is organic, and therefore transmitted by inheritance more certainly than the pigment of the negro's skin. Chastity, on the other hand, calls for the exercise of will to keep the passion in subjection, and as the "Jukes" have put forth this kind of power very sparingly, chastity has not had the chance to become organized. Laziness is conspicuous in four generations, the fifth being too young to have developed it. The environment of example runs parallel to and constantly attends the continuity of the social habits, and is contributive to their perpetuation. With licentiousness hereditary and wasting the energies, with such a disease entailed and slowly consuming the life, it is not too much to say that the slothful habits are due to an undervitalized condition, which is only deferred death ; while at other points disease smites with a stronger hand, and makes a fool or makes an infant corpse, leaving the surviving progeny weak and crippled, capable only of bringing forth a posterity of dependents to recruit the procession of woe on its way to extinction.

The third daughter of Hans married a man who died of consumption in the poorhouse after being supported by the town for three years. Two of the four children of this cross between constitutional syphilis in the mother and consumption in the father died young, a surviving daughter becoming a prostitute. The mother then married her "Juke" cousin, who also died of consumption. There is reason to suspect constitutional syphilis in his case, for he had a sister so affected, and both himself and brother were impotent, and consequently had no issue. Then she cohabited with a man who afterwards deserted her, by whom she had three illegitimate children, two of whom died in infancy or youth. The surviving daughter grew up a prostitute, with acquired syphilis, and has twice attempted suicide. She has had two love-babes ; and, although herself white, one of these was a mulatto girl, who was born in the poorhouse, and died of syphilis before her first year. Here again transmitted disease

or weakness mows down a portion of the children by premature death; those who survive being weak and falling back upon public charity, in most cases with the disease that vitiates their blood renewed by licentious courses begun by the great-grandmother, Ada, continued unabated through the subsequent generations, and carrying with them at every step pauperism or its alternative—extinction.

Of the fourth daughter of Hans, I have no further information than that she was a harlot before marriage, that she inherited constitutional syphilis, which seems to mark the track of its progress by the death of two young children out of three.

The fifth daughter was a prostitute, living in her sister's brothels, with acquired syphilis in addition to the constitutional form. She died at thirty-nine, leaving three daughters, two of whom are harlots, the youngest child being born in the poorhouse and adopted by people of fortune. Here we have premature death, partly owing to inherited disease, producing almshouse pauperism for the child, who is rescued by strangers. But for this interposition, she might have grown up in the poorhouse, become the mother of some pauper's idiotic bastard child, and so helped to make the present example of hereditary pauperism more conspicuous.

The sixth daughter is also a prostitute, who was married to her "Juke" cousin, but repudiated her marriage with him; she has three boys and three girls, all illegitimate. Her boys are lazy and stupid, one of them almost imbecile, who will grow up into a pauper, for his intelligence is low and his temperament stolid and sluggish.

In reviewing the lineage of Hans, we find a continuity in the licentiousness which is almost unbroken; all his daughters except two being prostitutes, one of these latter being debarred from this fate by her idiocy and youth. Indeed, it is hereditary. In the next place, we find increasing undervitalization as we descend from generation to generation. Ada Juke was healthy and strong, living to seventy years. Her son Hans died earlier, probably fifty-five; he was weighted down with syphilis. Out of eight of his children, one dies prematurely at sixteen, the others showing marks of weakened constitution by blindness, imbecility, and choosing the prostitute's career in preference to work; while of the grandchildren, over one-third, or thirteen

out of thirty-eight, die either in infancy or childhood, the remainder being less vitalized than their parents.

If we could only get another case to contrast with this one, in which the sum of the ancestral traits are equal, but divested of the feature of disease and differing in fate, the case of Hans would then indeed be a lesson. Well, we have just such a contrast in Yope, the younger brother of Hans. There is community of paternity, being children of the same father and mother; there is equal consanguinity in marriage, both wedding "Juke" first cousins. These women were of good repute, and lived beyond their threescore years and ten. But Hans had the advantage over Yope of winning a wife whose mother, Clara Juke, was chaste; while Yope got a wife whose mother, Bell Juke, was a prostitute, having had four illegitimate children, three of them black. Both brothers fought in the same regiment and drew pensions; both were farm-laborers. Thus far the conditions of both sets of children are equal. But Yope had no syphilis coursing through his veins, and his children and grandchildren are free from inherited contamination. Neither is there prostitution in his posterity, nor almshouse. The out-door relief of his stock aggregates only four years in three generations. He acquired fourteen acres of land, and his eldest son five acres more. Out of twenty-six persons, in four generations, there are only five deaths (counting Yope, who was seventy-eight when he died), and one daughter who committed suicide at forty-four, being insane. Health, self-support, self-respect, longevity, flourish where disease is not, therefore pauperism and prostitution fail.

But these two examples do not prove your case? It is by accident that they are juxtaposed. Then it would be fortunate if we could find another instance to lay beside these two, with identity of origin, with pathological conditions similar to either, with social results equivalent.

Well, Ada Juke's fourth child, the sister of Hans, is this opportune example. We will call her Getty. She was a harlot, who married a mulatto of the X blood. Here we have a cross between two races who do not assimilate. This mulatto was lazy, licentious, and stricken with syphilis. I have been unable to learn at what age the disease was contracted, nor can I get positive proof that he entailed it upon his children, but I am told it is probable. This, however, is certain,

every one of his children was licentious, two acquired syphilis, and their children died early. Every one of this sister's children received either out-door relief or resorted to the poorhouse; eight out of nineteen grandchildren have received public charity, and some of the rest, when old enough, will yet receive it, for they are licentious, lazy, and given to prostitution or stricken with syphilis. Out of twenty descendants who married or cohabited, six were barren; out of thirty-one descendants, five are known to have syphilis and probably twelve, which would be forty per cent.; and nine have died between the ages of infancy and thirty-seven, or nearly one-third. In addition to the disease, licentiousness, and sloth of the stock of Hans, we have in Getty's issue, a quadroon and octoroon progeny, who as a race are less robust than either of the pure races. The case of Hans is a well-established instance of the degeneration of disease, carrying with it pauperism because of undervitalization. That of the sister, less clearly marked as hereditary pauperism resulting from entailed disease, is an equally clear case of undervitalization caused by a cross of repugnant races, and inheritable for that reason. Of the same stock, lying between the two, and as if for the purposes of contrast, is Yope, in whom neither disease or race admixture deteriorates the posterity, and therefore absence of pauperism and its analogue prostitution.

I now turn to another branch, that of Effie. I have said that Max was born somewhere about the year 1720. He was irregular in his habits, had illegitimate children, and became blind in his old age, the blindness reappearing in his posterity even to the fifth generation. One of his sons, who was a thief, married Effie Juke, the sister of Ada. They had at least four children, but the posterity of only one daughter has been traced to the fifth generation, and it forms one of the most unbroken lines of almshouse and out-door pauperism in the "Juke" stock.

This daughter was a basket-maker, lazy, and has been in the poorhouse and received out-door relief. She married her cousin, of X blood, who was licentious and lazy. He died in the poorhouse at eighty-one. Seven children were their issue, four boys and three girls, every one of whom has been in the poorhouse or received out-door relief, and every boy imprisonment.

Unfortunately, with the exception of the eldest son Fritz, I

have little account of these children and their posterity besides that of official records, which do not state what are their diseases or general habits. Fritz was sixty-four in 1874, a finely formed man, erect as an arrow, with a springing step and able-bodied. Nevertheless he has received eighteen years of out-door relief since he was thirty, he has been in the poorhouse, and has served a five years' sentence in state prison. For many years he has been a good church member, and accepts its charity with becoming meekness. His oldest son is illegitimate. By his first wife, who was a "Juke" second cousin, a quadroon, and syphilitic, he had another son, who died in hospital during the war. He has had five more children by his second wife, who is also his "Juke" second cousin afflicted with the same disease in the form of blindness. Of these seven children, five have been upon the town. I have seen Fritz, his eldest illegitimate son, and his youngest boy, inopportunely meet in the parlor of the poormaster, soliciting relief. The father was by far the most of a man of the three. The eldest son was also finely proportioned, but looked more infirm than his father, for he contracted syphilis at thirteen, and limps to this day with a foot which was then deformed by it. The youngest son was more intelligent and less apathetic; he was twenty-three in 1874, and at eighteen years of age had already received public charity.

In this line, I can find no evidence of inherited disease passing from generation to generation. The blindness of Max seems to have been entailed along the other lines of descent and not this one. The only characteristics that are constant are idleness and licentiousness. I cannot, therefore, affirm that the pauperism of this branch is from entailed disease. I cannot affirm that there is weakness in two of these men; they are conspicuously able-bodied. What, then, is the cause of the continuity of the pauper condition? It seems to me to be explainable only by the nature of the environment, geographical, industrial, and social. Briefly, to sum up this environment, I find Ulster County with inferior natural resources of soil, peopled with a poor population burdened by a heavy population of poor. Her laborers receive low wages because they possess little skill, and these wages are made less by the closing up in winter of many callings, while a high rate of local taxation decreases the purchasing power of their income. Add to these, a lax and lavish

administration of the poor-laws, which invites dependence, and we have a number of concurring causes which produce a relative retardation of local prosperity that prevents the county from keeping abreast of other sections.

What is the process of social adaptation that has been proceeding for years in this population, and what are its causes and effects? The abundance of flagging-stone and veins of lime and cement rock, which is a rare mineral; the limitation of farming by the stubbornness of the soil; the abundance of timber and tan-bark in its mountains; the existence of a canal that transports coal to tide-water, determine what industries are most lucrative. These are quarrying, cement burning, hay farming, teaming, tanning, cannelling, and lumbering; which occupations are mainly of the grade of common labor. They call for muscle-workers, who, because they are muscle-workers, do not organize intellectual functions, and therefore do not transmit them. The population that aspires to skilled or professional work must seek it abroad, and they immigrate. The rude laborers who are needed remain and multiply, and so a preponderance of that grade of population accumulates. The per capita wealth of the county is thus reduced by a double process, — the scattering of the enterprising members of the population; the concentration of those who have neither the disposition, the habit, or the power of saving. Upon this groundwork, in addition to it and at further removes, the closing of industries in winter produces other important social phenomena. It tends to stimulate licentiousness, because of idle time, for occupation is necessary to maintain chastity. It favors laziness as a mere habit, aside from the apathy of disease. The curtailment of wages causes want, which necessitates public charity. This latter soon enters as an element in politics, and becomes an instrument deliberately used to favor pauperism, charity being now thrust on some who otherwise would never ask. The habit of relying on public help in winter is soon claimed as a prescriptive right by the recipients because they vote the proper ticket, and then we have a machine which feeds the evils it was designed to cure.

So far, geographical and climatic causes produce a gradual social growth and organization which shape the fate and fix the status of the community in the industrial field, establish its economic grade, and partially determine its burden of taxation.

This social growth seems to act as a "natural selection" of certain stocks which give local individuality to the county. It now remains to see in what other ways the process of social growth specially affects the "Jukes."

The uncommon licentiousness of the "Juke" stock excludes them from social recognition. The prudent housewife declines to harbor their boys as farm-help or their girls in domestic service, for fear of seeing her own children contaminated. Public opinion excludes some of the "Juke" children from the common schools. When they reach the marriageable age, the reputable will not take them "for better for worse," because they see no other alternative than worse. Thus "Juke" blood mingles with the blood of Juke, because it is derived from restricted stocks of Dutch extraction, unadmixed with foreign element, which causes such a breeding in and in that at last the fifth generation of Ada Juke brings forth a child who concentrates the blood of Ada once, Bell twice, and Clara thrice,—six times aggregating the "Juke" consanguinity. Another child in the sixth generation combines the bloods of Bell, Delia, and Effie once, and Clara twice, besides an intermarriage in the X blood, giving a cumulation of seven in the consanguinity; and in another child are commingled the bloods of Ada, Bell, and Clara once, and Effie twice, besides the X blood twice, an aggregate of eight. But these figures are below the truth, for some of the early intermarriages into X have been missed. Had they been fixed, we might, by the addition of a single generation, have a breeding in and in that would be marked by sixteen, or perhaps a higher number, in the consanguinity of the last generation. Here we have a remarkable unity of derivation in the stock, and where it is most close, there pauperism is most fixed. But the point I wish to emphasize is, that this consanguineous heredity is largely determined by social compulsion, exercised by the reputable spurning the stock. This social ostracism vents its contempt by employing the family name of the "Jukes" generically as a term of reproach.

What, then, can we affirm of the ascendancy of the geographical, industrial, and social environment just described? First, it masses a population of a homogeneous grade. Secondly, it compels consanguineous unions within restricted stocks of this selected population. These favor the cumulation and per-

manence of weakness, stolidity, or passion, and thus controls and confirms the hereditary traits of the "Jukes." Thirdly, the hereditary traits thus compelled have produced a special home environment of example which has contributed to fix the heredity acquired. Lastly, society itself has an organic life with features of continuity in the form of customs. Lavish public charity becoming such a custom, it is manifest that certain families receiving help generation after generation will display a persistence of dependence identical in form to that produced by hereditary pauperism from physical degeneration, but entirely different in nature, and as easy to suppress as true hereditary pauperism is difficult to control.

In the lineage of Hans Juke, behold a consanguineous marriage compelled by social environment, coupled with a constitutional disease that produces pauperism and makes it hereditary. In the case of his sister, another instance of entailed pauperism rising from a cross of races, probably combined with disease; and in the next generation intermarriages caused by social thralldom and fastening the acquired traits. In the case of Yope Juke, we see the same social dominance compelling consanguineous union, but no disease transmitted, no race admixture, and in the next generation a cross of bloods in X. Here hereditary pauperism finds no place. Lastly, in the case of Fritz, we have an instance of induced pauperism stretching over several generations, because the organization of society keeps up a vicious mode of administering relief, and we have a case simulating hereditary pauperism, but only illustrating bad government.

In conclusion, let me say that several branches of the "Jukes" have moved away and settled in other States. They have thus left the organized environment peculiar to Ulster County, and lived for several generations transplanted on another soil. The marriages have been in other stocks, and the posterity relieved of the effects of breeding in and in. What changes have ensued would help settle which factor is most potent in forming human character, heredity or environment; and if both contribute, to what degree, and in what form; for we could make a comparison between those who have lived under continuous conditions in the old home and those who now live under altered circumstances in the new. I had hoped to make this addition, believing it better

to have a complete study of one family than the partial observation of ten thousand promiscuous individuals ; but the study stands still ; for how long it will continue to do so, I know not.

What I have herein related, what I have elsewhere written, is purely tentative. The subject has great attractions : as science, because it links phenomena to phenomena, and reveals their laws ; as philanthropy, because the knowledge of these laws may be used as a weapon to conquer the vice, the crime, the misery which the science investigates.

FURTHER DEBATE ON MR. LETCHWORTH'S PAPER.

Dr. HARRIS of New York, alluding to what Mr. Tilton had said, remarked that he had the same feelings awakened in him when he first began to look at the condition of the destitute children of New York, and at the children in the jails and reformatories. But now a more hopeful era had dawned in respect to this work for children, and that change was fairly photographed in this hall. Ten years ago such a statement of work on behalf of children as that prepared by our philanthropic citizen, Mr. Letchworth, such an interest in the welfare of his fellow-man as that exhibited by our busy merchant, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt of New York, and such a careful study of one particular family as that in the paper on the "Jukes," by Mr. Dugdale, would have been impossible. The speaker had seen a sight at the Ballston Springs' Jail equally startling with that told by Mr. Tousey,—a little boy who did not know what was meant by the name of Christ, who did not know the Lord's prayer, had been put in that jail by the authorities of the county. He had sought out the county judge, and asked his help in endeavoring to save the child, and was successful. This is evidence that we are growing. A few years ago this subject received no attention from the average gentlemen of our towns and villages. Since the work inaugurated by Mr. Brace in 1855, and by the Juvenile Asylum about the same time, we have seen that children could be treated otherwise than as criminals ; that they should in no case be degraded ; in no case receive other than the attention of good and honest minds, who would endeavor to save them. That work has gone on steadily as the growth of the trees in the forest. What has been the result ? Dr. Harris here introduced some statistics showing that since 1862 there had been a large

diminution in the number of arrests in New York of children under sixteen. Over thirty thousand children had been removed from evil associations, and sent forward to meet a better destiny. Very few of these have been recorded as ever requiring any protective care, and to-day there are in institutions, which exercise a great moral force over them, a large number of children who, were they not there, would be filling the jails of our State. We can thus call by name to-day so many children who were on the very highway to crime before being placed in these institutions. Our friend from Wisconsin, looking at the matter as I did ten years ago, feels as if we were going to perdition with our wild, vagrant children, On the other hand, our excellent friend, Mr. Bradford, who has seen so much of children, and has had the honor of planting the best reformatory for girls at Middletown, announced to us that there is danger in institution life. But I do not suppose that we can safely say here that these institutions shall receive from our lips, or from our fingers, any stain or blemish. There are so many of these children that must be treated just as we should treat people that are afflicted with a dangerous disease. I have no fault to find with institutions till they refuse to disperse and plant their children in homes when they have the opportunity. The poor will have more children than they ought to have, and we shall be obliged to bear these burdens on our shoulders until we can teach our generation the duty of obeying the laws of nature. It appears on the record of several institutions that children who knew no father, who had no hope in this world or the next, who knew nothing definite whatever, were taught a little in an industrial school, then planted in homes a thousand miles away, and are to-day preaching the gospel of Christ. Did I see no more encouraging aspect of the work undertaken by your boards of charities, than the fact that it is easy to arouse the individual conscience of these persons, so that expressions of opinion that are fairly extravagant are allowed to escape from our lips, I would take heart.

After all, do we not need to revert to certain first principles in our method of doing good work? I suppose that all these children can be saved except such as are diseased, idiotic, or imbecile. All we can do for those is to bestow upon them that humane care which their afflicted condition requires. I have seen the "Juke" family that Mr. Dugdale has described, and I have not seen one

of them that could not have been saved as a child, except those that were born without the use of their faculties. The boy that Mr. Tousey saw down in the cell, yesterday, can be saved, even if he is the son of poor "Patsey the Dog."

Mr. TILTON. Had there been no transfer of these New York children spoken of, and had the question of their reformation been grappled with, I want to know whether the decrease in juvenile crime would have been as large as it is now?

Dr. HARRIS. I think that question is fairly answered in saying that there would not have been such a decrease. There is a vast number of children that sink right down through the jail and penitentiary into the state prison before they are eighteen years of age, because they are not reached in time and educated. For example: in a little manufacturing village in Jefferson County, a visit was made to find out where one little boy belonging to the criminal class had grown up. The boy was only nine years of age, and yet he was a thief. He had eight brothers and sisters, and not one of them could read or write. There were many others in the same village who had not received any common school education. Here was a family of eight children who could not read; their mother could not read; they worked in a factory; the father was a vagabond. Crime does increase in the juvenile population, but not in any such way as to discourage in the slightest degree the good work undertaken for children.

Rev. Mr. FESSENDEN of Connecticut. I should have been very happy to make a few statements in reference to the Connecticut Industrial School. Not that we consider it anything very remarkable, but because it was thought by many friends here, that in other States where they were agitating the question of creating schools for girls, they might be glad to hear something about its character. As Dr. Harris has alluded to that school, I beg leave to make a few remarks in reference to the results we have attained there. The school ten years ago had many difficulties to encounter. The ladies of New Haven proposed to the legislature, that they should create a school for vagrant girls, many of whom were brought daily into the police courts and sentenced to jail for sixty days. That decided the destiny of the poor girl; for the child was branded as a criminal, and at the close of sixty days she had no friends. When she came out,

she was ruined forever. That, sir, was the cause of the creation of the Middletown School. The first step was to appoint a commission to find who were proper subjects for the school, and what was the number for which we should provide; then what was the plan proposed for a school of this character, and how the plan should be executed. The plans were reported the following year, but the State deliberately refused to pay any attention to them. Then an appeal was taken to the people, with the feeling that if the facts were only known in the State of Connecticut, and if the good women of that State would make provision for such a school, the State would help it. The result has been, that, after ten years, we find all our best hopes even more than realized. The proper subjects for such a school are viciously inclined girls between the ages of eight and sixteen, not necessarily orphans on the one side, nor imbeciles, nor addicted to any particular crimes on the other. The inmates are girls in distinction from boys, and the appointments of the school are adapted to girls only. The age is between eight and sixteen, though our experience tells us that it would be better to have the time during which the school exercises guardianship over the girls extended to the age of twenty-one; that is, till they attain their majority.

The school is found to be indispensable. We ascertained that in Connecticut there are three hundred, probably five hundred girls who are proper subjects for that school. It may be said, Why not put them at once into families? I beg leave to ask, Where will you find the woman who will consent to take a girl like one of these into her family? How many families can you find that will take a girl that has been born and bred under the worst influences, that is so stubborn they cannot manage her in an orphan asylum? To put her in your family with your children, does the greatest wrong to the child herself and to your family. The end and aim should be to give that child what she has never had, a temporary home, and combine with it an industrial education that shall fit her for the family. I say the aim throughout should be this: the school in which she is placed should be a temporary home, fitting her, as soon as possible, to be the inmate of a private family. Now, I might enlarge upon this point, but time does not permit; suffice it to say, the general plan of a school should be that of a family. At Middletown,

the school is divided into families of thirty members. You have to modify your plan somewhat. We came to the conclusion that thirty would be about the best number to have together. We place in each family a lady, representing the mother, who is at its head, also a sister, to act as the teacher, and a young woman who is the constant guardian of the girls,—three in each family. While under this training, we are all the time seeking for the girls good families in which to place them. Plenty of families offer, but they are not always such as we could desire. Families are willing to take them for work, but such are not always desirable. And we prefer to keep them. Another point is this: the school should be a private charity, employed by the State to do its work. I mean that it should originate with friends who have money placed at their disposal by private charity, and that the State should have its representative in the governing board. But it should be paid for by the State for the work done.

It is asked, How can you take a child that has committed no crime away from its family and put it in a school of this kind? If she were the child of an insane person, or of a drunkard, you would then readily admit that the State should act as her guardian, because the parent did not know how to take care of her. Precisely so is it in this case. The State says to us, "Your Board of Trustees shall be the guardians of this girl until the age of eighteen." We could wish it to be till the age of twenty-one. I do contend, in the light of our experience, there is every reason to hope that not less than seventy-five per cent. of those girls will become respectable and industrious women. The lady at the head of our school says, if the State will but give her the control of these children until the age of twenty-one, she will guarantee eighty per cent. of reformatations.

Without specially debating Mr. Dugdale's paper, the Conference here closed its morning session.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

At the opening of the afternoon session, at 3 o'clock, Mr. Foster of New York in the chair, it was announced that Mr. Z. R. Brockway of Elmira, N. Y., who had undertaken to present a brief report for the Committee on Penal and Prison Discipline, had sent a despatch to say that he was prevented from leaving home to attend the sessions of the Conference. Mr. Sanborn stated that he had received a communication from Rev. E. C. Wines, D. D., LL. D., Prison Commissioner of the United States, in regard to the International Prison Congress which had been called to meet at Stockholm in August last, but, in consequence of the European war, had been postponed. Dr. Wines wrote, in substance, that the Swedish Government had now invited the International Congress to meet at Stockholm in the latter part of August, 1878, and that the British Government, through the interest taken in the matter by the Colonial Secretary, the Earl of Carnarvon, was collecting information in regard to the prisons and reformatories of the numerous British Colonies, in the most thorough manner, for the use of the Stockholm Congress. Dr. Wines expressed the hope that the Conference of Charities and the Social Science Association would use their influence in the several States of the American Union, to awaken an interest in the Stockholm Congress in each State, and to obtain, if possible, information more complete from these States than that now coming in from the British Colonies. Upon motion of Mr. Sanborn, the Conference passed the following resolutions, after which the subject of Prison Discipline was laid upon the table until the next year's Conference:—

Whereas, The Government of Sweden and Norway has addressed an official invitation to all foreign governments to take part in the International Prison Congress at Stockholm, during the second half of August, in the year 1878, in compliance with which invitation, Dr. Wines, President of the International Penitentiary Commission and U. S. Commissioner to the Congress, proposes that each of the several States should contribute information and send delegates to the Stockholm Congress; therefore—

Resolved, That the Conference of Charities now in session at

Saratoga, N. Y., hear with satisfaction of the steps taken by the Swedish Government, and by the British Government, through its Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Right Honorable the Earl of Carnarvon, to promote the usefulness and success of the International Prison Congress in 1878; and that this Conference desires to do its part toward the collection and transmission of information concerning prisons, reformatories, etc., in the United States.

Resolved, That this Conference declares its earnest hope that the governors of the several States will take effective measures to secure for the Congress, through competent persons, information on the prison question within their several States, similar to that collected by the British Colonies in their respective jurisdictions, and that they will also take measures to have their States duly represented in the Congress.

Resolved, That we have learned with much pleasure that Dr. Wines is preparing a work on "The State of Prisons and Prison Discipline and Reform throughout the Civilized World," to be completed and printed before the Congress meets, believing that such a work will be of great interest to the friends of this cause, and also greatly helpful to the cause itself.

The Conference then considered the place of meeting in 1878, and several members took part in the discussion. It was proposed to hold the sessions of the Conference next year apart from those of the American Social Science Association, and the preponderance of opinion seemed to be in favor of meeting in some city of the West or Northwest. Finally, it was voted that the Secretaries of the Conference (Dr. Hoyt and Mr. Lord) should call the next meeting, after consultation with the Secretary of the Social Science Association as to time and place, but with a preference for Chicago as the place, unless it should seem to be manifestly more expedient to meet in some other Western city.

At 4 p. m., the next subject in the regular order of business was taken up, being a report from the Special Committee on "Tramps." As originally constituted, this Committee consisted of Rev. Edward E. Hale of Boston, Charles L. Brace of New York, W. P. Letchworth of Buffalo, Henry W. Lord of Pontiac, Mich., and F. B. Sanborn of Concord, Mass. Mr. Letchworth and Mr. Sanborn, being engaged on other committees, requested Prof. Wayland of Connecticut to prepare a special report in their stead, while Mr. Hale, the chairman of the Committee,

undertook to open the question by a general report, and by collecting information and opinions from persons of experience, several of whom responded to his inquiries. The communications of Mr. Brace and Mr. Addeman of Rhode Island are the only papers of this kind here printed, and these will be found after the introduction by Mr. Hale, and the exhaustive report of Prof. Wayland.

REPORTS ON TRAMPS.

BY REV. EDWARD E. HALE AND PROF. WAYLAND.

MR. HALE'S REPORT.

The Committee, to which was assigned the subject of Tramps and Vagrant Laws, have supposed their duty best done by simply opening the discussion here,—presenting different views of the subject, from different quarters,—without any attempt to reconcile contradictions, or to suggest a uniform system of administration.

The chairman, therefore, has the honor to submit, with his own report, a special report from Prof. Francis Wayland of Yale College; a communication from Charles L. Brace, Esq., of New York; and a copy of the Rhode Island Tramp Act.

The phenomenon of a large vagrant population, consisting mostly of men, who prefer, in the summer months, to wander from place to place, and to live by beggary, is not a new one. The English statutes, in various endeavors to arrest such vagrancy, show the existence of such a class, in very considerable numbers, at several different epochs in the last three hundred years. In Hakluyt's Discourse of Western Planting, just now published for the first time by the Maine Historical Society, appears his description of the English difficulties in this way in the year 1584 :—

“But we, for all the statutes that hitherto can be devised, and the sharp execution of the same in punishing idle and lazy persons, for want of sufficient occasion of honest employment, cannot deliver our Commonwealth from multitudes of loiterers and idle vagabonds. Truth it is, that, through our long peace and seldom sickness (two singular blessings of Almighty God), we are grown more populous than ever heretofore, so that now there are of every art and science so many, that they can hardly live one by another; nay, rather they

are ready to eat up one another; yea, many thousands of idle persons are within this realm, which, having no way to be set on work, be either mutinous and seek alteration in the State, or at least very burdensome to the Commonwealth, and often fall to pilfering and thieving, and other lewdness, whereby all the prisons of the land are daily pestered and stuffed full of them, where either they pitifully pine away, or else at length are miserably hanged, even twenty at a clap, out of some one jail."

Without careful analysis or discussion of all the causes of the recurrence of the tramp epidemic, it may probably be said, in general, that such an epidemic may be expected whenever any considerable change in the industry of a nation, or any considerable over-supply of labor in one or more branches of industry has, for the time, removed many unskilled laborers from the places where they had made their homes. In any change, it is the laborer least skilled who suffers. In proportion as the workingman has craft, or resource, does he secure employment even in the midst of change. It may be observed that Hakluyt charges the prevalence of vagrancy not to any dearth in England, but to England's peace and prosperity. It is easy to see that any change in invention, by which ten men and a steam engine do the work of one hundred men, compels ninety men to change their occupation. Such an invention contributes to the prosperity of a country, but it changes the status of its population.

The temptation to a tramping life is aggravated in such circumstances as ours, where a state of war has taught, to a large number of laboring men, the methods of the bivouac, and its comforts, not to say luxuries, such as they are. To an old soldier, the hardships of a tramp's life are not more severe than he has borne, perhaps cheerfully, in the line of his duty. And, among other things which war teaches to a nation, are the arts of marching,—of finding shelter and forage,—the habit of living on the country,—and the disposition to trust to-morrow to take care of to-morrow.

In America, all these stimulants to vagrancy are quickened by the reckless generosity and hospitality of the people. To refuse to give to a wayfarer what is familiarly called "a meal of vittels," has been, for centuries, regarded here as a sign of utter meanness,—almost unheard of,—and to be spoken of only

with contempt. To persuade people so bred to refuse the "meal o' vittels," is now wellnigh impossible. This country produces food so readily, in quantities so enormous, that a series of proverbs, and of habits which they express, has come into existence, which show alike that, in the popular estimation, the meanest man has almost a right to food without work. "Where there's enough for one, there's enough for two," is such a happy expression of the nation's wealth. I happened to be in company, not long since, at a bountiful board, with some of the most intelligent gentlemen of the Northwestern States. As we slowly discussed the luxuries of an admirable supper,—such as, for superfluous abundance, the world might be challenged to surpass,—the tramp nuisance came under discussion also. Ladies and gentlemen alike pronounced anathemas on the vagrants who so alarm society and disturb the quiet peace of our highways. At last, I ventured to say that we create this army of tramps by the lavishness with which we feed them; that so long as a nation gave away food as readily as it gave air or water, there would be lazy dogs ready to take it on as easy terms. And then I asked my host if, in twenty years of his married life, any man had ever gone hungry from his door. He interrupted his abuse of the tramps long enough to say, that he thanked God no such disgrace had ever come upon his household, and he hoped it never would; that any man who wanted to eat might have what he wanted, if he would ask there; and when I smiled, and looked from one to the other of the guests at that large table, I found that such was the fixed rule of each household represented there, and would continue to be. Whatever else might be done in Ohio to arrest vagrancy, her children, it was clear, meant still to provide, as their fathers had done, that no man should be hungry long. It is said that a proverb is growing up that "No man was ever hungry in Ohio." There is this cardinal difficulty which appears at the outset, in America, in any proposal to reduce the number of vagrants or vagabonds, as these people are called in the old statutes, or of tramps, as a happy innovation in language calls them now.

No accurate statistics can be expected regarding a class of people whose distinction is that they have no status.

The difficulty in the case is not new, but the rapid increase in the numbers of such vagrants has attracted attention, and excited

alarm through the whole country. A correspondent in one of the interior towns of Massachusetts writes that the tramp invasion has changed all the social habit of the country. He says that twenty years ago any woman within two miles of his church would have been willing to come, without escort, to any evening service in it, and to return home in the same way; that now, on the other hand, no woman in the town would willingly go alone after dark a quarter of a mile from home. Such is a statement from one point of view, of an evil which appears in another, when we learn that, in the year of 1875, the police of the city of Boston provided lodgings at night for 45,000 vagrants, and that in the year ending in June, 1875, the overseers of the poor of the same city provided more than 27,000 meals for vagrants, at its Temporary Home. It is impossible to present precise statistics with regard to a population so movable and slippery, for it is impossible to say whether the same man is or is not included in two returns. From the nature of his being, the tramp is here to-day and there to-morrow. Nor are statistics needed to show how large is the evil and that it is probably increasing.

The officers who have most to do with the public administration of vagrant laws, take the same view which charitable citizens take, who talk at their own doors with vagrants, in recognizing the fact that there are men who ask for lodgings and for food at the doors of well-to-do people, who in good faith are travelling from one place to another in search of work or for other reasons, and rely, not without cause, on the genuine hospitality of the country, rather than spend money for their quarters. For one such person, however,—who is called by the sentimentalist, the honest laborer,—there are twenty, not to say one hundred “professionals,” as the officers call them,—men who make travelling and begging a business. When the overseers of the poor in Boston compelled every man to saw wood who received a meal at the Temporary Home, one of these professionals replied that he had been eighteen years in the country without working a stroke,—he had begged his way, and was bound to do it as long as he lived. Such men—almost from the nature of their profession—contract alliances with each other, and assume the powers of a class. In one of Mr. Mitchell's notes regarding them, he gives the following speech made

by one of a company of thirty-six, who met in the Lynn station-house, one night in February, 1875 :—

“Brother bummers, we are all bummers and tramps. We are now in the lowest trail of society. We go to a lady’s house and ask for assistance. ‘Why do you not work?’ ‘We would if we could get it.’ ‘Well, such a strong-looking man as you ought to work.’ ‘Ah! well, we submit.’” Just then a new-comer entered, bringing his tin cup of coffee and three crackers, the usual allowance. With a wave of the hand, worthy of Micawber, the speech went on. “Another bummer. Welcome, brother!—Some sing the praise of wine and beer, but give me Java coffee. All praise to the State which provides such institutions as this for us; and as for our situations as tramps or bummers, we bow in humble submission.”

The next morning this tramp appeared in good condition, and announced his intention of bumming a pair of boots that day.

It is easy enough to say that such a professional vagrant as this is a criminal, and that the vagrant laws should be strong enough and swift enough to arrest him, and put him in a place of confinement, to the work which he is trying to avoid. It must be seen that the mere companionship with such men, either on the roads or in the station-houses, is, to the last degree, demoralizing to any honest man, who, in lack of work, is going from place to place to look for it. No man of much force of character, or with an established handicraft, is likely to be found in such travel for work. The man who is in it honestly, is very likely to be just the weak fellow who loses his self-respect and his self-control in the frequent association with the “noble army of bummers.” The mere tenderness of the government of large towns, which provide in their station-houses places for such persons to pass the night, makes provision for the associating together of some of the worst social pests with the men out of work who are the most likely pupils for the school of crime.

Poverty is not crime, and the difficulty of deciding whether a man be a laborer in search of work, or a tramp trying to avoid it, is the difficulty which runs through the whole administration of the subject. For, under our system, the overseers of the poor need have nothing to do with criminals; and the constables, police, and other officers in the repression of crime, need have nothing to do with poor people. To remedy this

difficulty, in a measure, the State of Massachusetts, in 1875, authorized overseers of the poor "to exact a reasonable amount of labor in return for food and lodging," and to detain a person who had received food and lodging "till he had performed the work," but not beyond the hour of eleven in the forenoon." The State of Rhode Island permits overseers to sentence men to ten days' work in a workhouse. The State of Pennsylvania permits the sentence for a term of six months to county workhouses, but here a trial is required before justices. On the other hand, the far-seeing chief of police of Boston asks that the same power may be given to officers in his position, who in their station-houses relieve so many homeless people. He urges, with great force, that honest men are glad to pay by their labor for their quarters, and that, if dishonest men do not wish to, they should be compelled to do so. It is evident, however, that there is a difficulty under our system of personal liberty in intrusting to overseers of the poor judicial or penal powers; or in intrusting to officers of justice the supervision of the poor.

A practical difficulty, even greater, appears in all the country towns. While a large city can appoint an overseer of labor, who shall make sure that every tramp, or other traveller who receives public aid, shall do work enough to pay for it, this is almost impossible in a small community, where such tramps or travellers appear more seldom. You cannot well put an intelligent and useful man to watching a simple or a lazy one for half the day, only to be sure that he pays for his night's lodging. In practice, the officer himself would prefer to give the tramp a railway-ticket, which would take him about his business. And this is just what the tramp wants and hopes for. It is what, in practice, he receives in nine cases out of ten. It appeared very clearly, in the interesting conference of charity directors at Lancaster, Penn., last year, that while the large county institutions were relieved by a vigorous application of the severe State vagrant law, the retired country localities were not relieved. The Lancaster County Almshouse reported a falling off of near 40 per cent. in the number of applications. But this seems to have risen from the fact that the reputation of Lancaster for sentencing vagrants had become well established. It is to be observed, also, that any measures which keep tramps out from station-houses, and other public institutions, throw them back

on barns, or other private quarters, for their lodgings. The men who pay taxes for the station-houses do not want, at the same time, to be receiving tramps as lodgers; and an execution of law so severe as to keep these men away from the officers of the law, works a hardship at the same time on the isolated dwellers in separate farms. In all these points of view, the discussion of last year at Lancaster has great interest.

The papers now presented will make suggestions of value upon all of them. Further discussion of them is here out of place. The following points may be named as those which it is desirable to obtain in legislation:—

1. Power should be given to overseers of the poor promptly to exact an amount of labor which will pay for lodging and food given to travellers.

2. This labor should be exacted in all cases, even where it seems an additional expense to the authorities.

3. If officers of police are intrusted with charitable functions, such as the distribution of food, or the providing of lodgings, they also should exact a return, and have power conferred on them so to do.

4. The practice of all counties, and all towns, should be made as far uniform as possible. It is to be wished that uniformity could be obtained in the legislation of different States; for the tramp easily passes from State to State.

The wander-year of the German journeyman, so much praised by theorists, and so charming to romancers, was a system of travel, by which workingmen went from place to place, on foot, with the intention of learning, by personal observation, the methods of artisans in other towns. Legislation in America, for the restriction of the tramp nuisance, is always met by an earnest protest against any check on the workman's privilege of thus going from place to place for such employment as may pay him well.

The truth is, however, that, between the skilled workman and the professional tramp, there is a gulf as wide as that between a skilled seaman and the most sea-sick land-lubber; or between a courtly nobleman and the beggar to whom he throws a penny. No officer of justice ever mistakes the one for the other, nor does anybody else. The statutes and customs of the continent of Europe have, from time immemorial, given to the trained crafts-

man, who carries with him the certificates of his profession, privileges not extended to other travellers. It would be impossible to introduce the same statutes and customs here. But all craftsmen here are associated with one or another social organization of character, which would be glad to certify to their status, so far as they deserved any certificate. And it may be suggested to the societies of mechanics and other industrious men, that they would confer a favor on society at large, if they would form the habit of giving to every member in good standing, a certificate or diploma, which would serve him on his travels in America or in Europe as a sort of passport, showing the regard in which he was held at home. Any general custom of this kind would leave open to deserved suspicion the traveller without means, without skill, and without purpose, who also was without any such recommendation. Nor would it be impossible — though it might be difficult at first — to arrange a system, by which genuine and trustworthy certificates of this character could be distinguished from the bogus certificates, such as Italian contractors sell (or sold) to Italian beggars.

It is not probable that much ultimate good is achieved for the community by a severe administration of the vagrant law for a few months only, in any locality, followed by a series of lax months. The tramps soon learn by their mutual communication which are hard counties and which are good ones. It may be granted that there is a difficulty, in small and poor localities, in persuading local officers that the time and expense necessary for the commitment to prison of a single vagrant, or of two or three, are worth the gain. Might not the difficulty be met, if the executive of a State would occasionally, and privately, name in advance a day on which all criminal tramps, or persons known to the law as vagrants, should be arrested and sent to the work-house? Local officers who cannot, and will not, keep on the alert all the time in this matter, would gladly unite with all others, two or three times a year, to rid the State of a nuisance; just as a citizen who does not take much care of the public weal every day is willing to go to a town-meeting in the spring, and to another in the autumn.

Any State which had the reputation of arresting its tramps two or three times a year, at periods unknown to them in advance, would find that they kept out of its borders. And it

would gain this exemption without the necessity of that eternal vigilance which is apt to be thought too high a price to pay for liberty.

As practical hints either for legislation or in local administration, it may be suggested,—

1. That, as far as possible, convenient public provision be made by authority for tramps, whether men or women, in every town; so that, except in extreme cases, no person need be compelled by humanity to receive them at his home.

2. That in all cases, a return in work be extracted in proportion to the relief thus given, or given by individuals. In Mr. Savage's words, "If they only wheel stones across the road for other men to wheel them back," let them do the amount of work which stands for the amount of quarters and rations.

3. The chief difficulty regarding laws against vagrancy is, that they are so severe that the average community will not attempt to enforce them; or so complicated, that in a single case it seems to cost more than they are worth to enforce them.

4. An enforcement in all parts of the State, on the same day, not before announced to the public, would make an occasional blow so well known, as to produce the desired effect of punishment. The chance of a second blow of the same kind would, for a long time, free the highways of that State.

5. Societies of workmen, whether charitable, protective, or for mutual improvement, would serve a public interest, by giving to each member a formal certificate of membership, authenticated as genuine by proper authorities, which such members might carry with them in travelling, and exhibit as letters of introduction.

A complete registration-bureau in each large city might publish from time to time a descriptive *black-list* of notorious deceivers.

Professor WAYLAND, to whom had been assigned the principal part of the labor of reporting for Rev. Mr. HALE's committee, followed the preliminary report of Mr. HALE by reading his own report on Tramps.

THE TRAMP QUESTION.

A REPORT BY PROF. FRANCIS WAYLAND OF YALE COLLEGE.

Paupers, or those who are unable or unwilling to provide for their own support, may be divided, broadly, into three classes.

First. Those who have been reduced to poverty by physical infirmity or mental imbecility or positive insanity, and whose condition renders it practically certain that they will be permanent paupers.

Second. Persons fairly entitled to out-door relief. Perhaps no better classification of these can be given than is furnished in a paper in the Eighth Annual Report of the New York Board of State Charities, prepared by President Anderson, of Rochester University.

"1. Cases of pestilence, failure of crops producing temporary famine, accident, sudden commercial revolutions, or for the maintenance of families of soldiers during war.

"2. Where the progress of science and the arts works sudden changes in manufacturing and mechanical processes to which persons in middle life are unable to adjust themselves—as in the case of the hand-loom weavers in England, or the introduction of iron for the construction of ships; or when the raw material of any kind of manufacture fails—as did the cotton supply in our late war; or a freak of fashion suddenly destroys the demand for certain goods, throwing large numbers out of employment in those handicrafts in which alone they are skilled.

"3. Cases where the head of a family is removed by death or prostrated by sickness, and where there is reasonable prospect of the mother being able to keep her family together and ultimately maintain them.

"4. Cases where aged and infirm persons are dependent upon relatives who are able to care for them, but unable to meet the whole expense of their support.

"5. Cases of the sick poor who are too ill to be removed to the almshouse or the hospital."

It will be observed that the recipients of this form of charity are supposed to have homes in which the relief may be administered, and that the circumstances calling for and justifying assistance are *temporary* in their nature.

Third. Able-bodied persons without homes and without regu-

lar occupation, who are either unable to find employment or are unwilling to labor.

The second subdivision of this third class, the able-bodied paupers *who are unwilling to labor*, are unfortunately too well known to us all under the familiar designation of "*Tramps*."

And as we utter the word *Tramp*, there arises straightway before us the spectacle of a lazy, shiftless, sauntering or swaggering, ill-conditioned, irreclaimable, incorrigible, cowardly, utterly depraved savage. He fears not God, neither regards man. Indeed, he seems to have wholly lost all the better instincts and attributes of manhood. He will outrage an unprotected female, or rob a defenceless child, or burn an isolated barn, or girdle fruit trees, or wreck a railway train, or set fire to a railway bridge, or murder a cripple, or pilfer an umbrella, with equal indifference, if reasonably sure of equal impunity. Having no moral sense, he knows no gradations in crime. He dreads detection and punishment, and he dreads nothing else. Whether a refusal to comply with his demands will be followed by murder or a muttered curse depends solely on his chance of a safe retreat. Practically, he has come to consider himself at war with society and all social institutions. He acknowledges no allegiance, he asks no protection, he feels no gratitude. He has only one aim,—to be supported in idleness. He has only one fear,—to be deprived of his liberty. Therefore, the offences which he commits are almost invariably those which require no labor in preparation, and call for no skill in execution. They are inspired by no motive except a momentary impulse of gain or lust or revenge. The sight of a watch dog or the suspicion of a revolver will at any time turn him from his cowardly purpose and send him on a safer errand of villainy.

The strength and sacredness of family ties, the love of mother or wife, or child, have often restrained, and sometimes reclaimed, a hardened criminal, to whom the idea of home was still a present reality. But this possible refuge of respectability is wanting to the tramp. He has no home, no family ties. He has cut himself off from all influences which can minister to his improvement or elevation. His only associates are men and women of his own stamp. His only occupation is a lazy, loitering pursuit—if *pursuit* is not too strong a word—of food and lodging by begging or stealing. His only amusement is an occasional

debauch. Insolent and aggressive when he dares, fawning and obsequious when he thinks it more prudent to conciliate, but false, treacherous, ungrateful, and malignant always, he wanders aimlessly from city to city, from town to town, from hamlet to hamlet, wherever he goes, a positive nuisance and a possible criminal.

If in the cities he is sometimes and somewhat restrained by wholesome awe of a vigilant and adequate police, in the country he has become the daily and nightly dread of all well-disposed persons. Indeed, his frequent presence in our village communities has again and again transformed their quiet, peaceful life into a reign of terror. Murder, outrage worse than murder, arson, highway robbery, felonies of all kinds, and petty offences without number, have marked the passage of this unclean beast.

The innocent little maiden on her way to school, the farmer's wife busied about her household cares, the aged couple living remote from the habitations of their fellow-men, are alike the victims of his homicidal or licentious violence. Neither pity for helpless and trusting childhood, nor respect for gray hairs, stays for one moment his brutal hands.

As Dickens has said of the English tramp,—and many of these cruel and cowardly monsters are contributions from the “mother country,”—“The pitiless rascal blights the summer road as he maunders on between the luxuriant hedges, where even the wild convolvulus and rose and sweetbrier are the worse for his going by, and need time to recover from the taint of him in the air.”

Do you ask why the aid of the law is not invoked, and why prompt punishment is not visited upon these high-handed offenders?

I answer, that your question touches one of the most trying aspects of this painful social problem; viz., the difficulty of detection. The tramp has become such a common feature of our daily life, that he excites little remark. To-day, there are two or three seedy, sunburnt, ragged, dirty loafers lounging about your streets, or begging from door to door. Usually, you give or withhold your misnamed charity, as your fears or your easy good-nature or the caprice of the moment may dictate, your motive, in most cases, being to get them out of your sight as soon as possible. To-morrow they are twenty miles away, and their places are supplied by as many more, with nothing to dis-

tinguish them, in the eyes of the untrained observer, from the villainous visitors of yesterday.

Meanwhile, an atrocious crime has been committed in that quiet neighborhood. Instant and vigilant investigation fails to fasten suspicion on any member of the little community. The conclusion, then, seems forced upon you, that the offence was perpetrated by some one of the tramps so recently seen in the village. But *what* tramp? Arrest one of these sons of Belial,—the one to whom vague suspicion most plainly points,—and what will you be able to prove against him?

Possibly he can be identified, with tolerable certainty, as having been seen in the village within a few hours of the time when the crime was discovered. Beyond this there is in many or indeed in most cases no reliable evidence.

But this only tends to show that it is physically possible that he is the guilty man. I need not remind you that this falls far short of the evidence necessary to procure conviction. At the most you have only proved *opportunity*. You have not shown—in nine cases out of ten, you cannot show—any especial motive applicable to the particular case. The burden of proof is upon you, and you can offer no evidence of the defendant's past history, or of any malign intent in visiting the town, or of any previous grudge or expression of ill-feeling against the sufferer, —or, indeed, of any fact legally tending to confirm your suspicions of the guilt of the accused.

You will find his photograph in no portrait-gallery of thieves. The police authorities are unable to recognize him as an old offender. He has no home to which he can be traced. There is no clue by which the skilled detective can follow him to his accustomed hiding-place. He is simply a tramp. In other words, he belongs to that vast horde of idle and unprincipled vagrants, who, by the fatal indulgence or apathy of our criminal legislation, are permitted to roam, unchecked, throughout the length and breadth of our land.

Ordinarily, flight from the scene of crime is an important element in the prosecutor's case. But here the instant disappearance of the alleged culprit has little or no weight in the scale of presumptive evidence against him. It is only the customary course of the professional tramp. To wander from place to place is his daily habit.

Not to multiply, with undue prolixity, the reasons for our position, the dilemma is as follows: Unless the stolen property can be found in the possession of the accused tramp, or unless the sufferer from his larceny or his lust or his violence can positively identify him as the actual offender, the chances are that he will go unwhipped of justice, with no result from the investigation but to produce a fresh feeling of insecurity in the community, and to extend to the real culprit an implied license to pursue, unmolested, his career of crime. Meanwhile, another case has been added to the long and ghastly catalogue of undetected and unpunished outrages against person or property.

Have I magnified the existing danger, or made my condemnation of a recognized class too sweeping? Are all vagrants to be ranked with actual or possible criminals? Is there not among them a considerable portion of deserving poor?

The more accurate criminal statistics of England lead us to turn first to that country for confirmation of our statements. The returns of 1869-1870 show that about 60,000 persons were then wandering through England, Wales, and Scotland, of whom forty per cent. were computed to belong to the criminal class, and only about six per cent., by the largest and most liberal estimate,—and by some put as low as one per cent.,—were deemed to be honest wayfarers.

One intelligent and experienced English police officer has said that ninety-nine out of every one hundred professional mendicants are likewise professional thieves, and practise either trade, as occasion serves. The same competent authority attributes to persons of this character the greater number of burglaries, highway robberies, and petty larcenies that take place; and gives it as his opinion that, if the present system of permitting professional tramps to wander about the country were done away with, a great deal of crime would be prevented.

In the summer of 1870, I visited, at different times, various casual wards in London, at the hour when tramps or casuals apply for a night's lodging.

Each applicant is examined by a police officer or detective, and the answers are taken down.

The inquiries are according to the following formula:—

What is your name?

How old are you?

Where were you born?

What is your occupation?

Where did you sleep last night?

Where are you going to-morrow?

These inquiries are made because prescribed by law, but not the slightest credit is ever given to the answers. The tramp can have no conceivable motive for lying, and must lie from sheer force of habit. Nearly all had the stereotyped, professional, indescribable air of habitual laziness, and a majority were more or less in liquor.

They were, almost without exception, able-bodied men and women. I conversed with many of them. Each one told a very plausible story, with great fluency and much show of earnestness. They were willing and even anxious to work, and had worked until within a day or two, being idle only because it was impossible to find employment. But, when compelled by the officer to show the palms of their hands, it was at once apparent that a long time had elapsed since they had performed any manual labor. They certainly were not "horny-handed sons and daughters of toil." Indeed, whenever, on the occasions to which I have referred, I encountered a collection of casuals, I was informed, by the detective in attendance, that there was not among them a single deserving person.

To my unpractised eye, there was, at one of these interviews with the casuals, an applicant whose appearance led me to believe that he might be an exception to the general rule. His occupation, as he informed me, was that of a "*translator*." He was a young man, with a mild, modest, rather intelligent, and generally prepossessing face. I said to myself, "Here is, perhaps, a precocious but unfortunate linguist, suffering the too frequent fate of unappreciated genius." It was, however, explained to me that the *translation* was not of some masterpiece of human thought from a foreign into our English tongue, but of *old boots* (begged or purchased for a trifle) into *shoes*. I was subsequently informed that much money is often made in this way, sometimes from twenty to thirty shillings per week. The young "*translator*" confessed to having been occasionally "on the loose," but said that he was tired of leading the life of a tramp, and would gladly go to work again if he had money with which to purchase the tools of his trade.

There was so much pathos in his tone, so much sadness in his tearful face, so much apparent sincerity in his professions of a desire to reform, that I could not help believing that I had found at last a genuine case deserving assistance. The detective shook his head, cautioned me against the danger of being imposed upon, and even went so far as to say that the man was a palpable fraud; but I still held to my more benevolent belief. Accordingly, I informed the youth, that, if he would call on me at a given hour on the following day, with any one of the numerous testimonials to previous good character which he stated his ability to produce, I would give him such assistance as he needed to set him up in business once more. He was profuse in his expressions of gratitude, but he did not keep his appointment, and I have never seen him since that first conversation.

It is certainly unnecessary to prove that the same general principles with reference to tramps hold good in this country which are applicable to Great Britain. If such proof were demanded, I have only to appeal to the observation and experience of every one who has paid any attention to this phase of pauperism in the United States.

Recent investigations by the State detective force of Massachusetts have led to the conclusion that the great body of tramps are professional thieves. Moreover, these officials have reason to believe that such vagrants are formed into organized gangs, under the direction of skilful leaders, with general headquarters in the western part of the State, where their plunder is deposited and divided.

The inner history of the recent disgraceful and disastrous riots in some of our principal cities reveals the fact that to large detachments of our great standing army of professional tramps, and not to the so-called "strikers," is mainly due the causeless and criminal destruction of most valuable property. It is, indeed, a significant circumstance, that Pittsburg, which, doubtless from some good or bad reason, had long been the favorite rendezvous of these wandering hordes, was the principal sufferer from their reckless outrages. But the destruction of property was not the sole, or the most dangerous, indication of the evil which has justly excited public alarm. The many wanton murders, which give a darker coloring to this sad picture of lawless

violence, find their only adequate explanation in the baleful presence of the vagrant class.

Now, there can be no practical difficulty, in the mind of any thoughtful citizen, in pronouncing such people as I have been describing dangerous to the peace of the community, and deserving such treatment as will put it out of their power to continue their individual or organized warfare upon those rights which society is bound to protect.

But, harsh as it may seem at first blush, there is no escape from the conclusion, that when those who honestly desire employment, but can find nothing to do, are reduced to the necessity of begging from door to door, they must, to all intents and purposes, and with reference to the remedy to be applied to their unhappy circumstances, be classed with those who are unwilling to labor. In other words, all able-bodied beggars having no homes must, so long as they remain in that condition, be treated as *vagrants*.

If this view of the case seem uncharitable and unnecessarily severe, let me invite your attention to a few considerations which, in my judgment, fully warrant the position I have taken.

First. It must be remembered, that in this country, it is, fortunately, very rare that employment furnishing some remuneration cannot be obtained by all who are really anxious to secure work.

Second. It should be borne in mind that the really deserving poor can usually find friends or acquaintances familiar with the causes which have reduced them to poverty, and who, if not able to assist them, will, at least, be willing to recommend them as worthy objects of private charity.

Third. (To quote from the Tenth Annual Report of the New York State Board of Charities.) "Examination has made it clear, that by far the greater number of paupers have reached that condition by idleness, improvidence, drunkenness, or some form of vicious indulgence."

Fourth. It is of the utmost importance, on every sound principle of moral and political economy, that the habit of begging should be promptly and effectually discouraged.

The desire, active or dormant, to evade the consequences of the primal curse, "By the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," is a well-recognized and ever-existing fact. If active,

and stimulated by homelessness, poverty, and a dissolute life, the genuine tramp is ready-made. If dormant, a very few instances of injudicious almsgiving will prove a temptation to habitual vagrancy which is rarely resisted. That is not true charity, but a short-sighted and most harmful weakness, which withdraws or suspends all motive for legitimate labor. It has been well said, that "a tramp is one who wishes to live by the sweat of another man's brow." The slightest aid, therefore, whether in the form of food or money, which is not earned by an equivalent amount of labor, only fosters a tendency to improvident idleness which may be said to be inherent in human nature.

The evils resulting from much of the so-called charity of the present day cannot be too strongly emphasized. One man assists the beggar at his door because he fears to offend him; another, because he dislikes to turn away a possibly deserving case; another, because he has neither leisure nor inclination to ascertain the truth of the pitiful story which has excited his surface sympathy; and yet, in every instance in which assistance has been rendered, he has, probably, only confirmed the applicant in his determination to live without labor.

"He tells you of his starving wife,
His children to be fed,
Poor little, lovely innocents,
All clamorous for bread—
And so you kindly help to put
A bachelor to bed."

But if we indulge ourselves in the violent supposition that the applicant tells a true story of absolute destitution caused by no fault of his, is it wise in the long run, or justifiable on any correct principle of almsgiving, to afford relief without exacting a labor equivalent? Does not the assistance furnished, without any suitable return, costing the person aided some honest exertion, injure rather than benefit the recipient? Are we not manufacturing tramps while we believe ourselves to be simply helping the unfortunate poor? The truthful answer to these pertinent inquiries is not far to seek. Careful and minute observation has demonstrated, beyond all reasonable doubt, that it is difficult to exaggerate the demoralizing influence of homeless mendicancy, or the rapidity with which the descent from decent, self-respecting industry to shameless laziness is effected.

The honest, reluctant beggar of to-day, telling his sad story of undeserving suffering and enforced idleness, in a very few weeks matures into the professional tramp, coining his unblushing falsehoods as fast as he can talk, receiving alms without gratitude, and ready to "turn again and rend" the hand held out to help him—and all this, mainly, if not solely, because he has learned the fatal lesson that he can always find careless or credulous listeners, who are practically willing to aid and abet him in his efforts to live without labor.

Two questions remain to be answered:—

First (and in less general terms than those which we have been using). Who are vagrants?

Second. What shall be done with vagrants?

I do not know any better definition of vagrants than the one given in the Massachusetts Statutes for the year 1866; viz., "All idle persons who, not having any visible means of support, live without lawful employment; all persons wandering about and visiting tippling-shops and houses of ill-fame, or lodging in groceries, outhouses, market-places, sheds, barns, or in the open air, and *not giving a good account of themselves*; all persons wandering abroad and begging, or who go about begging from door to door, or place themselves in the streets, highways, or other public places to beg or receive alms, shall be deemed vagrants."

Accepting this definition, if you please, as sufficiently accurate for our present purpose, our next inquiry is, *What shall be done with vagrants?* The evil, as we have seen, is one of enormous magnitude, and unless speedily arrested, threatens the very life of society. It therefore calls loudly for heroic treatment.

Observe, then,—

Vagrants are paupers, and therefore need relief.

They are able-bodied, and are therefore competent to contribute to their own support.

They are, as a class, disposed to prey upon the community, and the community is entitled to adequate protection from their lawless violence.

It seems to follow, therefore, that they should be placed in a situation which will,—

First. Provide for their necessities.

Second. Compel them to perform useful work.

Third. Prevent them from committing crime.

Fourth. Render it impossible for them to propagate paupers.

This, of course, involves the idea of confinement, with enforced labor and separation of the sexes. Now, such confinement with enforced labor may be under the immediate direction and control of the town or county or State authorities, and for a longer or shorter period.

The laws of Massachusetts on this point, recently enacted, permit each town or city within its borders to give temporary relief to vagrants under such regulations as to labor, with certain limitations, as the authorities of such town or city may see fit to prescribe. Wherever this plan has been thoroughly tried, it has greatly diminished the number of vagrants infesting that particular locality.*

The plan, already legalized in Massachusetts, has been for years pursued to some extent in England, under the charge of the guardians of the poor districts. But, owing to the expense of providing facilities for work, and the very small amount which can be earned in this way (the kinds of labor enforced being almost exclusively oakum-picking and stone-breaking), many districts have made no arrangements for what is called "the labor test."

It is, however, easily apparent, that this mode of dealing with the vagrant problem, although, perhaps, good so far as it goes, is wholly inadequate to the suppression or very material diminution of the evil complained of. For,—

1st. The avails of such labor are merely nominal in amount.

2d. The vagrant has no opportunity of learning any useful trade or occupation.

3d. The vagrant is let loose upon the community for a considerable proportion of the working hours of each day, with the added privilege of roaming at large during the entire day and night, if he elects to avoid a temporary seclusion from general society; and;—

* When the city of Springfield, which imposed upon wandering paupers, to whom it furnished lodging, the task of breaking stone till 11 A.M. of the following day, housed five vagrants nightly, the city of Hartford, Conn., less than thirty miles distant, with about the same population, was giving nightly shelter to about one hundred tramps, and, as the Hartford authorities could not well turn applicants away when there was room for them in the lock-up, they are said to have been driven to the pitiful device of keeping the windows open during the coldest season of the year.

4th. This mode of relief leaves it optional with cities and towns, whether they will put this, at best, inadequate remedy into practical operation.

These, and other kindred objections, apply; it will be observed, to any system of affording *temporary* relief, accompanied by *temporary* labor.

But if cities or towns should, under legislative sanction and authority, attempt, however thoroughly, to deal with vagrancy as an offence, to be punished by confinement with labor for a *term of months*, it would result in the establishment of a great number of small workhouses, with an immense aggregate outlay for salaried officers, and, in every way, a very large disbursement, to be met by greatly increased taxation. The smaller towns would naturally seek to evade the enforcement of a law which entailed so much expense, and thus this poor remedy would have only partial application.

Again, the mere fact that a vagrant is found in Pigsgusset to-day, and, if not arrested there, will be in Hardscrabble to-morrow, certainly furnishes no good reason why Pigsgusset, although, perhaps, a thriving village, should be obliged to afford him a home and a sufficient support. Moreover, the inevitable result of such a system would be, that those towns which are situated on main lines of travel between great business centres, would be compelled to sustain the lion's share of taxation.

Once more, if the arrangement of the matter under this system were committed to the several *counties* of each State, the plan would, in many of the smaller States, be open to the same objection. There would still be an unnecessary and wasteful multiplication of workhouses and salaried officials.

If I may venture to assume that the reasons which have been urged against intrusting to cities or towns or counties the application and enforcement of laws in restraint of the tramp nuisance are valid and controlling, we will proceed to consider, very briefly, the only agency remaining to be examined; viz., the States.

So far as I am aware, the wisest and most feasible plan yet devised for dealing with the vagrant dilemma is contained in a bill prepared and offered to the last Assembly of the State of New York by the "State Charities Aid Association." Omitting,

for the sake of brevity, many minor, but most essential details, its main features are as follows :—

Adopting the existing judicial districts of the State as the basis of distribution, it provides for the appointment of a board of seven managers for each district, such managers to be reimbursed for their actual and necessary expenses while employed in the discharge of their official duties, but to receive no compensation for their time or services. It is, moreover, expressly provided, that no member of the several boards of managers shall be interested, directly or indirectly, in leasing or hiring buildings or land under the 4th section of the act, or in any contract for repairing or furnishing any of the buildings to be used as district workhouses, or in any contract for supplying food, raw material, or other merchandise, for any district workhouse.

It is made the duty of each board of managers, within six months of the time of their appointment, to hire buildings suitable for the confinement and employment of vagrants.

Proper provision is to be made for the separation of the sexes, by placing them, respectively, in buildings so far removed from one another that all inter-communication is practically impossible.

It is, moreover, wisely prescribed, that no female officer or subordinate shall be employed in any building designed for men, and no male officer or subordinate in any building designed for women.

It is made the duty of the board of managers in each district to decide upon the kind of employment suitable for the persons committed to each district workhouse ; to provide for their necessary custody and superintendence, and, in such provisions for safe-keeping and employment, to have due regard to the formation of habits of self-supporting industry in the inmates, and to their mental and moral improvement. All powers requisite to the carrying into effect of these provisions are conferred upon the managers.

The managers are to open an account with all vagrants duly committed by the local magistrates to the workhouses in their respective districts, charging them with all the expenses incurred by the managers for their board and maintenance, and crediting them with a fair and reasonable compensation for the labor performed by them, and at the expiration of their terms of sentence,

paying to them such balance as shall be found due to them at the time of their discharge.

The "contract system" is strictly prohibited, and no person is to be allowed to oversee the labor of the inmates who is not employed and paid by the managers.

So soon as the workhouse in any district shall be prepared to receive inmates, it shall be the duty of the justices of the peace, police justices, or other magistrates of such district (any law to the contrary notwithstanding) to sentence and commit all persons convicted of being vagrants under any existing or future law of the State, whether such law shall apply to the whole State, or to any special county thereof within which said person shall be convicted, to the district workhouse of the judicial district in which such conviction shall take place, for a term not less than ninety days or more than six months on the first conviction, and for a term not less than six months or more than one year on a second or any subsequent conviction.

It is also made the duty of every magistrate, justice, and court which examines or convicts or commits any person, under authority given in this act, to cause a record to be kept of the name, age, birthplace, occupation, last place of residence, and kind of employment, of all persons so committed by them, together with the reasons given for, or the particulars of the vagrancy charged. A copy of said record is to be transmitted upon the official order of the commitment of said persons to the superintendent of the district workhouse, as a part of the paper or order which shall accompany each person to the workhouse, and the superintendent of such workhouse is to enter and keep in a book of record all these and such other facts as are by law required concerning the inmates of poorhouses.

It is further provided that the managers of each district, having hired two or more buildings and land suitable for the confinement and employment of vagrants, shall make an estimate of all necessary expenses to be incurred in establishing, equipping, and maintaining said workhouse for the year ensuing, and shall then apportion the expense, so estimated, among the several counties composing the district for which said managers were appointed, pro rata, to the property tax of each county, as the same shall be determined on.

An explanatory appendix to the bill, of which we have given,

as already indicated, only the salient points, defends its general design, and predicts the beneficent results to be expected from its adoption and enforcement, in such clear and cogent language, that we make no apology for quoting it without abridgment.

It should be added, that this "appendix," as well as the bill, whose wise provisions we have been considering, proceeds from that most useful organization, the State Charities Aid Association of the State of New York.

"Having learned that the impression prevails among members of the Assembly that the establishment of district workhouses, as provided by Assembly Bill, No. 79 (reported favorably by the Judiciary Committee), will entail expense on the people of the State, we wish to call your attention to the fact, that it is, on the contrary, a measure of the wisest economy, for the following reasons:—

"1. Because it proposes to transfer from the county jails, where they spend the time of their sentence in absolute idleness, all persons convicted as vagrants, and place them in workhouses, where they will be compelled to support themselves. The counties will thus be relieved of the burden of maintaining thousands of idle and vicious persons while they are undergoing punishment.

"2. A system of reformatory treatment will be carried on in the workhouses, and it is believed that a portion of the inmates will by this means be rendered permanently self-supporting.

"3. The proposed discipline will become irksome to incorrigible vagrants, many of whom will leave the State, and thus the workhouses will, both by reformatory and deterrent influences, materially diminish the vicious population of the State.

"4. The actual expense of establishing the workhouses will not be great, since the members of the board of managers are to receive no salaries, and the bill provides only for the *hiring* of buildings, and the purchase of furniture, tools, and raw material for the employment of the inmates.

"As no buildings are to be erected, the number hired can at any time be diminished, should the diminished number of vagrants warrant such a step."

Another consequence which we may reasonably hope would result from the passage of this bill, or one embodying kindred provisions, and embracing the same general principles, by any of the States of our Union, deserves to be noticed. We have, I think, a right to infer that such a legislative enactment, rigidly enforced, would drive from beyond the confines of the State, so

protected, all tramps who succeeded in escaping arrest, and disperse them over adjoining States where no such laws had been adopted.

The communities so invaded would soon be driven, in self-defence, to resort to similar legislation, until at last there would be no State in which able-bodied vagrants would be permitted to roam at large, disturbing the good order of society, stealing or destroying the property of law-abiding citizens, wantonly taking or endangering human life, and generally bringing a grievous reproach upon our boasted civilization by the daily spectacle of lawless violence unchecked and brutal crimes unpunished.

If it be urged that the professional tramp is rarely reclaimed and returned to the ranks of honest labor, we reply that the attempt at reformation has never yet been made under hopeful conditions. When punitive measures have been put in force, the term of sentence has always been so brief as to exclude the possibility of genuine amendment, or of acquiring any knowledge of such trade or occupation as will not only maintain the vagrant while in confinement, but also teach habits of self-supporting and self-respecting industry.

Surely, alike on moral and economic grounds, such an experiment is well worth being put to the test of a thorough trial.

LETTER FROM MR. BRACE.

CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY, NEW YORK, August 28.

DEAR MR. HALE,—I regret that I cannot be present at the Convention in Saratoga, but at your request I give my views briefly and informally on the tramp question.

First. Nothing can ever prevent the annual inpouring of vagrants and tramps every winter into the large cities, to enjoy the benefit of city charities and the excitements of winter life in the city; nor their exodus in the spring, to obtain chance jobs in the country, pick up alms, and enjoy a gipsy life in the warm months.

Second. We can, however, control this annual migration. The cities can force vagrants, as New York did last winter, to

go to the almshouse to do whatever labor our institutions have to offer; not permitting a lodging in the station-house more than three consecutive nights, and rigidly forbidding street begging. The villages and towns can carry out measures similar to those so successful in New York, refusing all house-assistance, but giving tickets which entitle the tramps to a night's lodging and meal at some designated house of reception, where work can be required. Any tramps violating such rules, or refusing to labor, are summarily imprisoned and compelled to work.

Third. There seems need of some pass-system, like that employed in some of the English counties. That is, a tramp or vagrant, belonging to a certain State, and journeying towards another, under our present poor-laws, should be required to show some ticket or pass making this evident. Our different States and cities are not half strict enough in executing the residence-laws about tramps. The secretary of the New York State Board of Charities has, however, been very vigilant and active in compelling other communities to take care of such of their own vagrants as come under his charge. But in the city of New York there seems hardly any effort in this direction, and each winter we support thousands of poor, homeless, and sick persons who drift in from other States. It would be easy to compel every tramp either to prove his residence, to "move on," or to be confined as a vagrant and set to hard labor.

Fourth. Unfortunately, the result of rigorous measures in the rural communities will be to force the tramps into the large cities, where it is more difficult to put them under close inspection and supervision. Still, the same measures can be carried out in New York and Boston, as in small towns, and indeed with more convenience. For in all small communities, the difficulty is to provide labor for the idle and lazy, while in a city almshouse there ought to be no great obstacle to this.

Fifth. For deserving and industrious homeless persons, who are able and willing to work, there should be "bureaus of labor," like that under the New York Commissioners of Emigration. In the spring, an expense of a few dollars could easily put such laborers where they would be self-supporting. This would be cheaper than support in an almshouse, and infinitely better.

Sixth. Great caution should be used about house-assistance

and door-aims to tramps. It serves to support and perpetuate the business. Still, if a community make no public provision for vagrants, humanity will compel such assistance from individuals.

Sincerely yours,

C. L. BRACE.

TRAMP ACT OF RHODE ISLAND.

The Legislature of Rhode Island passed a new tramp law, June 1, 1877. There has been but a period of three months since its passage. Copies of it were posted on the highways by which the State is entered, and the opinion of the officers in the smaller towns is quite distinct, that it has materially reduced the number of vagrants. With reference to the city of Providence, the Secretary of State, Hon. John M. Addeman, writes :—

“As the law did not go into operation till the 11th of June last, the time has been rather short to give it much of a practical test. I understand that pursuant to the provisions of sect. 5 of the Act, copies of the law have been posted on the highways leading from the towns in this State bordering on the adjoining States, and this may possibly have prevented some tramps from entering our State.

“The overseer of the poor of this city informs me that in Providence there have been no prosecutions under the law. The season of the year is not one in which we are liable to be much troubled with this class of vagrants. The law provides that tramps may be set to work on the highways. However this might work in the country towns, our overseer does not think it would be practicable in this city, where there is an ample force for all our highway work. He prefers our statute which authorizes the arrest of vagrants, and imposes a penalty of six months' imprisonment at the house of correction and state workhouse, to the ‘Tramp Act.’ The penalty is more severe, and I presume he thinks it has a more deterrent effect.”

The following is the Act (Chap. 646 of 1877) :—

AN ACT FOR THE PUNISHMENT OF TRAMPS.

It is enacted by the General Assembly as follows :

SECTION 1. Every able-bodied man who shall go from house to house, or from place to place, begging, or who shall otherwise seek the means of subsistence by begging, shall be deemed to be guilty of

a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, before any justice court, shall be sentenced by such court to hard labor upon the public highways, or other public work of the town in which he shall have been convicted, for a term not exceeding ten days; such labor to be performed by such offender in the custody and under the direction of any surveyor of highways, or officer discharging the duty of surveyor of highways, or such other public officer or contractor as may have charge of any public work for such town.

SECT. 2. Every able-bodied person who shall apply to any overseer of the poor of any town for relief or support, may, by such overseer of the poor, be provided with work upon the highways or upon some other public work of the town where such application shall be made, and put such applicant at work for a term not exceeding ten days, under the direction of the surveyor of highways, or the officer discharging the duty of such surveyor, or such overseer of the poor may put such applicant to work upon some other public work of such town under the direction of the officer or contractor having control of the same, for a term not exceeding ten days; and such applicant, and any person convicted under the preceding section of this act, shall be supported and relieved by such overseer of the poor while such person is employed and faithfully labors upon such highway or public work, or is in the execution of a sentence imposed under the preceding section hereof; and if any person neglects or refuses to perform the work assigned him under the provisions of this section of this act, he shall be deemed to have committed the misdemeanor described in the first section of this act, and may be convicted and sentenced for such offence as is in the said preceding section provided.

SECT. 3. Any surveyor of highways, or officer having charge of any public work to whose custody any person convicted of violating any provision of this act shall have been sentenced, may employ any means to compel such sentenced person to work, authorized to be employed by the superintendent of the state workhouse and house of correction to compel the inmates of that institution to labor, or he may use such means to make such sentenced person labor, as may be employed by any keeper of the asylum for the poor in the town where such sentenced person shall have been convicted.

SECT. 4. Every person convicted for a second time of violating the provisions of this act shall be sentenced to the state workhouse and house of correction for thirty days.

SECT. 5. The overseer of the poor for any town adjoining another state shall cause a copy of this act to be posted in some conspicuous place, on or near every highway leading from an adjoining state into such town.

DEBATE ON TRAMPS.

Prof. CHACE of Rhode Island. This subject is a most important one. As the legislation of Rhode Island has been referred to, I may say a word about it. The enactments were passed last May. It is generally believed they were unnecessary. There were on the statute-book previously acts quite adequate to cover the case. By our laws in existence some eight years, any vagrant is liable to be arrested; any beggar or any tramp could be tried before a justice's court, and, if found guilty, he was sentenced to the workhouse for at least six months, and could be held for three years. We had a large number of that class. They are the most numerous, next to the drunkards. The picture to-day has been rather overdrawn, I think. I don't believe this class is so bad as the drunkards. They are about as ready to be reformed, about as ready to conform to the rules of the institution in which they are placed. We had a large number of young persons, who had escaped from New England merely because they wanted to see the world, come back to us again. By our laws now, all persons of that class are arrested and disposed of in the way I have suggested. The danger lies in confounding the persons who are running away from work with those who are going after it. We have occasionally had persons sent in under sentence of the court who were honest men, seeking occupation and not finding it. But our board is clothed with the power of terminating the sentence at any time, when it is thought best so to do. I think we are not very much troubled with tramps, and the laws which were enacted during the last May session were suggested, I think, by some outrages which had occurred in other parts of the United States. We have not suffered very much from tramps in our State. You will readily see, that if every man who is found on the street begging is liable to be arrested, tried by the court, and sentenced to the house of correction from six months to three years, he will stand a very fair chance of getting some work to do. I refer to this because the quotations which were made from our statute might lead to the apprehension that we had no laws previously in force on the subject.

Mrs. DALL of Boston. I have had more or less experience for the last thirty years with the tramp. In my estimation, Prof. Wayland has not been severe enough. It is not very difficult

to find work for tramps. But, so far as I know, only philanthropic persons want to find it. The municipalities and legislators don't want to find it on account of politics, for fear of losing political influence. As a remedy for this, I would begin by disfranchising the tramp. The man who is not fit to support himself, is not fit to vote for a member of the legislature. I think that would strike the axe at the root of the tree. It is almost always possible to find reasonable work for a man to do, if any one would set about it. I feel that the municipal authorities neglect their duties. It is their province to care for the streets and sidewalks, and see that they are kept clear of ice and snow. Last winter, in the city of Boston, we were nearly blockaded by ice and snow. When we wanted persons to clear away the snow from the roofs of our houses, there was hardly a square at which you could not find tramps waiting round, but when asked to work they wanted to know how much they were going to get. None of them would be satisfied with an ordinary breakfast. They wanted meat and eggs and things that we did not have for ourselves. The people who were not able to pay for the cleaning of the sidewalks before their doors were soon informed about it by the police. The same winter the city of Boston paid thousands of dollars for a soup-kitchen. Why was not this money used to set these able-bodied men at work upon the labor that needed to be done? In reference to the remarks of Mr. Tilton, about restricting marriage, by way of curing pauperism, Mrs. Dall said: We might with advantage impose the German restriction upon marriage. I don't think a pauper has any right to marry, nor do I think the State has a right to allow him.

Dr. CADWALADER of Philadelphia. I was informed by a gentleman living on a thoroughfare near Philadelphia, that he had offered employment to some thirty tramps and, with two or three exceptions, they had always accepted it. They went to work removing stone. The speaker thought that the recent troubles in Pennsylvania had mainly arisen from the large influx of people into manufacturing and mining districts, and from the neglect of agriculture. The latter was now being more attended to, and was taking off many from the mining districts. The population in the mining districts of Pennsylvania had increased 100 per cent. in less than a decade, while in the agricultural districts the increase was very light, say five per cent. A bureau was

recently established in Philadelphia for the purpose of encouraging emigration to agricultural districts. The speaker had seen a difficulty in the matter, arising out of a want of confidence on the part of poor people in the representations of this bureau, regarding the agricultural advantages of any given locality. He had recommended, by way of meeting this difficulty, that the bureau be managed by the Young Men's Christian Association, which had branches throughout the country.

Mr. Tousey of New York. We were accustomed during the war to have a song about certain armies marching "three hundred thousand strong"; the same might be said with regard to the tramps of the present day, and the question, how to dispose of them, is one of prime importance. The opinion seems to be general, that the tramp will not work, if he can live without it. If this is really the fact, then we must take measures to compel him; for until this is done, all hope of restoring him to the ranks of the self-supporting is vain.

But how is this to be effected? By the passage of laws making the solicitation of alms a criminal offence, subjecting the offender to arrest and compulsory work. Let the tramp found begging be taken into custody, and made to labor for his food. Let him receive the same treatment wherever he goes, and when he discovers that there is no place in the State where food can be had without its equivalent in labor, he will be apt to get over his scruples on this score. Both in the city and country there is work enough for him to do. In the city he can be employed cleaning streets, cleansing sewers, etc.; this is proper work for the tramp. We have not, sir, in the country, scarcely, a continuous mile of public highway, where the sides are not encumbered with briars and bushes; and in some places the Canada thistle is so thick, that unless taken hold of at once, it will require generations to completely eradicate it. The tramp can, in the summer season, be employed in clearing the roads and fields of this troublesome weed. Instead of imposing the task upon the farmer, let it be done by these lazy vagabonds, who ought also to do all the work on the highways, clear out the obstructed watercourses, drain the swamps, and, in winter, shovel the snow and keep the country roads in a passable condition. *No work, no food!* Let this course be pursued and a tramp will never be seen the second time in the same place. That is what

I would do with the tramp, sir. The remedy is so thorough, in my estimation, that in a short time the tramp would be driven out of our borders, and then honest labor would not have to support him.

I will give you an illustration of two types of tramps. We have in New York a number of public squares; passing through one of these, a tramp came forward and said, "Mister, can I say a word to you? I am a poor young man out of work; won't you give me a few cents to get something to eat?" I said, "My friend, you have made a mistake; you don't want anything to eat, it is *drink* you want. You want money to fill that bottle in your pocket." Whereupon he took out of his pocket a half-pint bottle, drew the cork, and attempted to put it to my nose, saying, "Don't you think that is pretty good stuff." Now, a man ignorant of the character of this animal, would say, "My poor fellow, I am very sorry for you, here is a quarter." That was a type of the fraud tramp. Passing through the same square on another occasion, a very large, muscular man came up to me and said, "Can I speak to you?" I replied that I did not have anything for him. He turned upon me sharply and said, "You are putting on too many airs; who asked you for anything?" and treated me to a string of adjectives not to be repeated in this presence. This was a type of the man who in the country frightens farmers' wives into giving him whatever he asks for.

Both of these classes should be made to work, either in prison or out.

The discussion of the tramp question was here closed by the adjournment of the Conference.

EVENING SESSION.

The Conference reassembled at 8 o'clock, P. M., Hon. JOHN V. L. PRUYN of New York in the chair.

Mr. SANBORN of Massachusetts offered the following resolution, which was passed:—

Resolved, That the Secretaries of this Conference, Dr. Charles S. Hoyt of New York and Mr. H. W. Lord of Michigan, be authorized to print the Proceedings as fully, and in an edition of as many copies as they shall find expedient.

The last report read at the Conference was from the Committee on Public Buildings for the Dependent Classes, of which Dr. M. B. Anderson was the Chairman. Dr. Anderson, being seriously ill, had called upon Dr. Wilbur of Syracuse to write and present the report upon a special branch of the subject, and this was done as follows:—

BUILDINGS FOR THE MANAGEMENT AND TREATMENT OF THE INSANE.

BY H. B. WILBUR, M. D., SYRACUSE, N. Y.

Lest I shall seem to transcend the proper limits of my topic, I may say, at the outset, that any general policy that prevails in the management of the insane should determine the character of the buildings erected for their use; and, in turn, the form, etc., of the buildings occupied will more or less affect the mode or modes of management of their inmates. Here, as in the natural world, there are reciprocal relations between structure and function, and the nature of some of these relations will perhaps appear as we follow the discussion.

It is safe to estimate the number of the insane in the United States, at the present time, as at least 45,000. Of these, 80 per cent., or 36,000, are supported at the public charge. Of the whole number, probably 95 per cent. are housed and cared for in buildings either provided by a tax upon the community at large or by charitable endowment.

The present cost of these structures is at least \$35,000,000, of which sum about \$15,000,000 has been expended during the last ten years.

The number of the insane seems to be an increasing one, relative to the general increase of the population. Certainly, the number of the insane seeking relief at the public charge is an increasing one, far beyond the natural growth of the population.

It follows, therefore, that the question, how the insane shall be housed, what manner of buildings shall be provided for them, is an important one for social economists to consider.

If the question were absolutely a new one to-day,—or, if such a supposition were possible,—if there had been no such

thing as insanity in the country, and 45,000 insane persons, of every age and social condition, had appeared in our midst, or been landed on our shores and distributed through the several States,—with what appalling force would it present itself! But the cost of maintenance is an annually recurring and serious burden upon the resources of every State; and to the extent, that the provision for the accommodation of the insane is numerically, or in point of fitness, inadequate, to that extent, the question, if not an appalling one, is at least one of no small import.

There was a time, within the memory of men of middle age, when provision for the care of the insane was so insignificant as to be accounted as nothing. Thus, in 1830, there were but seven or eight small asylums, accommodating in the aggregate perhaps a thousand or twelve hundred patients. The lot of these, in happy contrast to that of the large remainder of the class in poorhouses and in jails, awakened a deep public interest in the amelioration of the condition of the whole class, and thus laid the foundation for a large share of the present public provision for the wants of the insane.* The extent of this pro-

* A similar awakening of interest in behalf of the insane occurred at about the same period in Great Britain. There a general law was passed, looking to the amelioration of the condition of the whole class. From that day to this, the method of their management and treatment has been one of constant improvement. As has been remarked on another occasion, "the law was complete and admirable in its manifold clauses; but the real source of its regenerative power lay in the provision made for an intelligent and painstaking governmental supervision over all the insane, wherever situated, or of whatever social condition."

In this country, on the contrary, while legal measures were adopted, in most of the States, to the same end, the carrying out of the proposed schemes was left, in the main, to a single class; namely, the officers of asylums or hospitals established. As a result, the whole subject, as a public measure, came ultimately to be looked at from a class standpoint. The legislation that has followed has been influenced by the same causes. Local circumstance, accident, and too often individual prejudice, has determined matters that should have been decided only on the basis of comprehensive and thoughtful views of the whole field of philanthropic effort. As a result, instead of steady improvement of the condition of the insane, wherever found, the movement has been spasmodic, irregular, and partial. In fact, in some respects, and in some localities, a retrograde one. The grossest inequality now exists in the circumstances of the insane, as a class. The supply of suitable institutions for their relief falls far short of the demand, and with small prospect of overtaking it, unless a more comprehensive policy shall be adopted. Even in institutions supposed to be models, the ratio of recoveries is a diminishing one.

But the seeds of reform have lately been sown, in some of the States, by the

vision may be seen in the fact already stated, that during the last ten years, namely, from 1866 to 1877, about \$15,000,000 have been expended in the erection of new structures, or the enlargement of old ones, for the accommodation of less than 10,000 patients.

During this period, the increase in the number of the insane, owing to the growth of the population, has been nearly equal to the accommodations furnished. So that, with this great expenditure of public money for the purpose named, the supply has scarcely gained much upon the urgent demand of ten years ago. Now, as then, many recent cases are vainly seeking for admission at the doors of our insane hospitals in the hope of cure. Now, as then, multitudes of the chronic and incurable class are languishing and suffering in quarters, and with surroundings and treatment, that are a disgrace to our civilization.

How, then, shall their needs be met, with due regard on the one hand to their best interests, and on the other to society and the State?

It may be assumed that about 20 per cent. of the number are in such a pecuniary condition as to be able to take care of themselves, or, in other words, to avail themselves of the advantages of corporate or private asylums, receiving pay-cases, where such exist.

These may be left out of consideration, for experience in other countries shows that the supply of well-ordered private asylums will prove equal to the demand for their existence.

The question for us is narrowed to the consideration of a proper and adequate provision, in the way of hospitals and asylums, for all the insane, below the point of affluence. I use the last term advisedly, from the fact that insanity, especially when occurring in the case of the head of the family, has a tendency, even with the well-to-do, to bring them to a condition of indigence, or even poverty.

I have spoken of the difference of social condition in the insane. There are other points of difference; namely, of physical and mental condition.

There may be maniacal excitement, either continuous or peri-

establishment of "Boards of State Charities," whose functions, in regard to the insane, are not unlike those of foreign Boards of Lunacy.

odical. There may be melancholia. There may be a mild form of insanity marked by harmless delusions. And, finally, there may be dementia, or loss of mental power, more or less determined. It will be readily comprehended, that the degree of excitement or depression, the nature of the delusions, or the extent of the impairment of the mental faculties, as well as the hope of cure or betterment,—all these may more or less affect the mode of management, and, as a consequence, the form and arrangement of buildings in which such management is conducted.

Taking the whole number of the insane, some writers estimate the proportion of curable cases as not exceeding ten per cent. At all events it is a small one.

In view of these circumstances, two opinions have prevailed as to the proper method of caring for the class generally. The one to establish hospitals for the care and treatment of recent and curable cases, remanding the remainder and larger portion to institutions simply of a custodial character. On the face of it, this would seem to be the natural course of proceeding, and it has high authority in its favor; namely, the opinions of some eminent alienists, European and American.

The grounds upon which the separation has been advocated are twofold. One class of experts affirm that it is the best for both classes of the insane to have each in institutions specially adapted to their needs. Thus, Griesinger, the learned German alienist, in narrating the history of the movement in behalf of the insane in his country, says, "From the commencement of the reforms, the conviction gained root, especially in Germany, that the first condition of success in treatment was the separation of the curable from the incurable insane." And then, as the result of this management for a period of years, he adds, "There was every reason to be satisfied with the general result of the system," etc., etc.

Another German superintendent adduces as arguments against the union of the institution for cure with that for mere guardianship, —

"The want of efficient superintendence, and of treatment of individual cases, where there are so many patients under the care of one physician; the overloading of the medical superintendents with a

mass of official business of no service to the patients; the great confusion which must result from a system so complicated and requiring so many assistants; the danger of the physician's neglecting the incurables, owing to the greater attraction offered by the curable cases, they being so much richer in results; finally, the evil influence which the sight of so many lost and hopeless lunatics — nay, even the very knowledge of the proximity of so many who are incurable — has upon the recently admitted cases."

Another class of experts, without fully indorsing the opinions just quoted, advocate the separation, as the only practicable means of bringing to all the insane the relief they need.

A leading London medical journal, the "Lancet," some two years since, appointed a commissioner to visit and report upon some of the English asylums for the insane. Among his conclusions, I find the following, related to this very point; namely, how to meet to the fullest extent the wants of all the insane:—

"Viewed from an economic standpoint, the problem resolves itself into an inquiry how best to secure four objects essential to the result, and interdependent,—

"*First.* The existence of a highly curative establishment, replete with every convenience, furnished with all necessary or desirable appliances, and so organized as to afford the greatest facility for the prompt, rapid, and effectual treatment of insanity in its various forms and under divers conflicting conditions.

"*Second.* That every case of mental disease falling under the control of the public authority, and chargeable to the rates, shall be placed at the earliest moment — without being delayed or intercepted by any other machinery — in the institution already described.

"*Third.* That no case proving incurable, or passing into a condition which renders active treatment hopeless or unnecessary, shall be allowed to occupy space or waste power in the curative establishment.

"*Fourth.* That the asylum, or hospital, in which cures are to be effected, shall be able to accommodate the whole of the recent, or curable, cases in the district it is designed to protect."

The other method is to treat, in the same institution, all the insane, recent and chronic, of every shade and phase of the disease.

In this country, practically, both methods have been adopted.

Thus, many of the State asylums, owing to the pressure for the admission of recent cases, have been obliged to dismiss the chronic cases, in most instances to be cared for in the insane wards of county poorhouses.

On the other hand, the incorporated and private asylums, as well as the asylums supported by some of our large cities, have continued to retain the accumulating chronic cases, besides receiving the recent cases applying for admission.

In a few States, asylums or receptacles for the chronic insane have been established, to obviate the necessity of sending patients, discharged from State hospitals as incurable, to the county poorhouses.

It should be borne in mind, at this point, that two considerations prevail in inducing society to provide structures for the care and cure of the insane. The first is a selfish one; namely, for protection against the risks attendant upon having dangerous lunatics at large, and, also, to cure the lunatic, if the cure is possible, and by so doing restore him, or her, as a producing element of the social organization, instead of leaving them a life-long burden for the State to support.

The second consideration is a humanitarian one; that is, to secure the welfare and comfort of those afflicted with the disease,—chronic or incurable insane,—and who are thereby unable to take proper care of themselves. In the one case, security and all the means and appliances to induce recovery will be the aim. In the other, the means and influences that will promote the humanitarian ends in view. Again, it may be said, that in the former case, there should be no limitations to the extent and perfection of the rational means adopted, short of the accomplishment of the result sought. And as to the second, it may likewise be added, that there are limitations as to the extent of the provisions for the purposes named. Thus, while it may be admitted in general terms that society owes it to the insane to minister suitably to them in their afflicted or dependent condition, in the manner indicated, public sympathy, however generous, discriminates, to a degree, in the mode in which it shall fulfil the obligation; depending upon a variety of circumstances, a few of which may be mentioned. Thus, the wealth or pecuniary ability of the State; the weight of other and analogous obligations; the special needs of different classes that make up

the total number ; and, finally, to some extent, the circumstances that may have led to the occurrence of the disease.

We may now approach the practical question that lies before us.

First, then, for a limited number of the insane, we need buildings wherein dangerous lunatics—dangerous to themselves or others, whether from continuous or periodical conditions of maniacal excitement—may be positively restrained, to the necessary degree, and for the period when such excitement exists or is apprehended. When I say restraint, I do not necessarily mean strict confinement,—high walls, grated windows, or other prison-like surroundings, or, in short, mechanical appliances of any kind. These may be needed. But it is ever to be borne in mind that it is not indispensable that this restraint shall be always and only physical. The ends are security and safety and restoration, and where both physical and moral means are employed to meet these, the more the moral predominate, the better for all interested.

I do not propose under this, or any other head, to go into detail in regard to the sanitary or other features of such buildings. I take it for granted that all the specific needs of the several classes will be fairly considered in planning the structures built to meet those needs. That is to say, it may be assumed that the general policy of management held by those who control the erection of such buildings will determine their plan and character. There follows another general consideration, not out of place here, and one that has already been suggested, that the buildings provided or occupied for such a purpose will necessarily, to some extent, modify the policy of management of those who occupy them. It is therefore the part of wisdom, while such policy is still undetermined, or the detail of methods at all in doubt, not to build too expensive or durable structures. In many of the British asylums, and in some of our own, there has been the necessity of costly alterations from time to time, not from the natural wear and decay, but from changes in the methods of management.

But to return to the description of buildings: another need is an infirmary building, or at least wards resembling those of an ordinary hospital, where a certain class of patients may receive medical treatment. The statistics of our insane asylums show that but comparatively few of the inmates are sick

and needing active medical treatment. For the majority of the patients, the function of the medical officer, even, is to look after their general health; meet by appropriate remedies the indications of organic disease or functional disturbance, in whatever organs may have been the prime cause or seat of the mental disease; direct in all matters of diet and regimen; and finally, prescribe the amount and kind of occupation or amusement. There is further need of a building or groups of buildings, where harmless or demented cases may receive the care and oversight that the peculiar condition of each requires. Also, a separate building or buildings for convalescent patients, within or without the grounds of an asylum, is very desirable, where those who have passed the active stage of their disease may pass a sort of probationary period, that occurs between insanity and complete restoration. To these, in some British asylums, is now added a seaside resort, where convalescents may go, or even patients still uncured, as a change from the monotony of ordinary asylum life.

I have left for the last the mention of the workshops, the indispensable accompaniment of every asylum. These, commodious and cheerful, but inexpensive, should be of convenient access from all the other buildings, except, perhaps, the infirmary. The laundry and sewing-rooms should be equally accessible from the female wards. This affords opportunity for a definite amount of work in definite periods of each day, which leaves on the patients' minds the impression that they are accomplishing something. It is a very different thing from desultory and dawdling work, or pretence of work, done in the wards.

In the American asylum of the future, occupation will certainly be a prominent feature of the moral treatment; for European experience, of the last twenty years, will not be lost upon us. The degree of occupation of the patients, and the consequent absence of excitement, is regarded by the British Board of Lunacy as one of the best tests of the excellence of management in the several institutions under their supervision. The superintendents of their asylums accept this, and vie with each other in their efforts to show the greatest percentage of patients employed; not for the economic results, but for its tranquillizing and curative effects.

Chronic insanity is usually the result of structural changes in the nervous tissue, and these in turn often come from long-continued periods of maniacal excitement, aggravated by restraining apparatus, or merely smothered by drugging with narcotics. The system of drugging patients heavily, to secure sleep and quiet, once common in British asylums, — and as I may say, now too common in American institutions, — has there been abandoned for the preferable mode, through abundant exercise, suitable occupations, and occasional changes from one ward or one building to another. The good effect of this last will depend upon the fact that the several wards and buildings differ in form, in type, and in general arrangements.

It is this which has led me to commend a series of small buildings, rather than a single large one. As I have said before, all these needs in the way of buildings may be met under one or in separate organizations.

Next, as to the character of the buildings in point of cost. This should be as moderate as possible, consistent with fitness for the purpose, for several reasons. *First.* Because of the limitations of social obligation already referred to. *Second.* Because expensive structures involve an expensive annual repair account, and so-called modern improvements in dwellings involve a greater annual cost of living. *Third.* Because of the large number of the insane, in any State, to be provided for at the public expense; nearly one to every six hundred of the population. Two minor or contributory considerations may be mentioned. The insane are but one of the dependent classes, alike demanding public aid. Undue cost of buildings for the one robs the other of their needed accommodation. Again, growing out of the large number to be cared for, prompt aid for all is only practicable by providing in the most economical way for any.

This is not commending inadequate accommodations for the cure and care of the insane; for it is true economy to provide all essential conditions in the way of structures and appliances to these ends. The real point to be insisted on, is, that these shall be the test of fitness of structure, and not some assumed standard, based upon what is becoming in point of style or architectural adornment, in an institution erected by a populous or wealthy State; or what will subserve the pride of building commissioners and officials, or a too studious reference

to the comfort and convenience of officers and employés. The very conditions necessitated in the construction of asylums for the insane, extension on the ground, abundance of light and air, etc., etc., skilfully handled, will afford a beauty of outline that is the most effective feature in all large buildings. It should never be forgotten that the buildings, and all their surroundings, are designed and furnished for the patients. The study and thought brought to bear upon their planning and execution is to be directed to the patients' needs. For them primarily, and not for the public or the officers, are all the special arrangements, internal and external,—the comfortable and convenient quarters, the various appliances, the sanitary provisions, the cheerful aspect, the fine views, and the ornamental grounds.

In Great Britain, many of the asylums for the insane, of recent construction, are fair illustrations of what may be done at a moderate cost in this direction. Two-storied buildings, with home-like arrangements, as far as such are admissible. The lower story for day occupation, with large, airy, and cheerful rooms, opening directly out into the grounds for exercise, and of convenient access to the various workshops, the chapel, and the general dining-halls. The upper story for sleeping apartments, either single or associated. The whole surrounded by a wall, sunken or concealed by foliage. The appearance of confinement is everywhere avoided, and grated windows and spring-locks are either absent or only used in what are called the refractory wards.

What is called the "system of non-restraint," in its broadest sense, means not only the disuse of mechanical appliances, the muffs and camisoles, etc., in the treatment of the insane, but the absence of all prison-like arrangements of structure, and the substitution for both of a constant and never-tiring personal supervision of the patients.

One who has lately made a careful study and observation of the policy of management of the insane in England, has thoughtfully remarked, "Frankly, I do not believe in minimizing the pains and trouble required of those in personal charge of the insane. By multiplying the mechanical appliances and regulations devised to lessen the dependence on personal care, the sense of responsibility is diminished. The attendant knows that his superiors trust to these measures of safety, and it is

only natural, that instead of taxing his own watchfulness to the utmost, he should seek to avoid trouble by relying upon the effort to compensate his scanty performance of duty. For example, the circumstance that a window is barred will be held to obviate the need of personal precaution against accident or attempt to escape."

I could hardly hope that this brief statement of some of the principles that should control in the erection of buildings for the accommodation of the insane, will make the impression that I desire to make upon this audience. Let me, then, resort to another method. The older authors of grammatical text-books, after laying down the principles and rules for the correct and proper use of the language, and giving illustrations of the same, were accustomed to add examples of a different nature, to be corrected and avoided, thus clinching the direct application of the principle or rule.

Have there been any errors of construction, in plan or erection, in the attempt to provide accommodations for the insane, that may serve as warnings to all interested in such undertakings? It is not a very gracious task to give to this the only practical answer that can be given; but it is a lesson much needed.

In Europe, as in this country, the proper management of the insane, is, to-day, much embarrassed by the policy that guided, and the plans of building that were adopted, in many instances, not thirty years ago. The schemes proposed by those who thought themselves competent to decide, have, in many instances, been narrow and impracticable. The existing policies have been drifted into. They were mere make-shifts for present emergencies. The structures planned for their use have often been ill-considered and unfitting.

And here, as with many other subjects of which social science takes cognizance,—in view of the difficulties of working reform, in the face of old abuses, whether intrenched in tradition or brick and mortar,—one almost wishes, that, in social matters, as in the natural world, there might come periods of catastrophic change. The slow measure of any gradual improvement seems utterly hopeless and inadequate.

In the year 1844, or not many years after the establishment of insane asylums in this country, an association was formed of the superintendents of such institutions. Among the objects of

that association, was, "to secure for the future a higher standard for hospitals, and a more liberal and enlightened treatment for all classes who are suffering from mental disorders." From time to time this association has passed resolutions embodying its views upon a variety of topics. I give the substance of these utterances, so far as it concerns the subject before us.

First. "Every State should make ample and suitable provisions for all its insane." *Second.* "That neither humanity, economy, nor expediency can make it desirable that the care of the recent and chronic insane should be in separate institutions." *Third.* "No hospital for the insane should be built except in accordance with the views of the association." Among the requirements under this head, are, "that the plan of such structures should always be submitted to, and approved by, some member of the association."

"That each hospital of two hundred patients should have at least sixteen distinct wards, each of which is a complete residence in itself, for day and night use, and with every necessary convenience for care and living."

Fourth. On the subject of the proper number of inmates for any hospital, their utterances have been a little uncertain. Thus, in 1851, the members were unanimous in the conviction that the number should not exceed two hundred and fifty, and two hundred was a preferable maximum. Fifteen years later, a majority of the association resolved that such institutions might be enlarged to accommodate six hundred patients. As individual members are now lending their sanction to asylums of still greater capacity, one may safely predict that at the proper time the proper action will be taken, indorsing a still higher maximum.

Fifth. "That none of the insane should be allowed to remain in county poorhouses; for no expense that is required to provide just as many State hospitals as may be necessary to give the most enlightened care to all the insane, can be properly regarded as either unwise, inexpedient, or beyond the means of any one of the United States or British Provinces."

Sixth. The association, on all occasions, has set its face against what is commonly called the cottage system of housing the insane.

Seventh. The association also, by implication, discourages the establishment of private insane asylums.

Eighth. While the association insists upon a particular mode of heating and ventilation as the only mode, one looks in vain in their proceedings for any suggestion that workshops for patients might ever be needed.

As might be expected, the opinion of this body has had great weight with legislative bodies, especially in the older States. The more, as they have managed, with some adroitness, to secure the carrying out of one of their resolutions, passed in 1853, which specifies, among the desirable qualities in the members of the board of trustees of such asylums, that they should be "distinguished for liberality, intelligence, and active benevolence *above all political influence.*" In most instances, the plans of building adopted have been prepared under the advice of some member of the association, especially during the last ten years. I give a list of the asylums thus constructed during that period.

Bear in mind, that it is proposed, by the American Association of Superintendents, to provide for all the insane, curable and incurable, in institutions of which these are the type. That they are designed and built for the accommodation of patients, for the most part, supported at the public expense; as a rule, chronic, indigent, and pauper cases.

	INSTITUTION.	Number of Patients.	Cost.
1	Worcester, Mass.,	450	\$1,250,000 00
2	Danvers, Mass.,	450	1,600,000 00
3	Middletown, Conn.,	450	600,000 00
4	Hudson River Hospital, N. Y.,	600	2,000,000 00
5	Buffalo, N. Y.,	500	1,800,000 00
6	Homœopathic, N. Y.,	300	900,000 00
7	Morristown, N. J.,	800	2,500,000 00
8	Danville, Penn.,	500	1,000,000 00
9	Maryland,	300	803,000 00
10	Kentucky,	375	162,000 00
11	Columbus, O.,	900	1,800,000 00
12	Athens, O.,	600	950,000 00
13	Kalamazoo, Mich.,	580	653,000 00
14	Ana, Illinois,	450	534,000 00
15	Oshkosh, Wis.,	500	552,000 00
16	Iowa,	300	600,000 00
17	Minnesota,	500	480,000 00

	INSTITUTION.	Number of Patients.	Cost.
18	Missouri,	250	\$209,000 00
19	Nebraska,	80	113,000 00
20	California,	900	1,000,000 00
		9,785	\$19,506,000 00

It will be noticed, in examining the table, that the greatest extravagance has been shown in the Eastern and older States. Thus, eleven institutions so situated have been completed, or are in process of construction, at a cost of about \$15,000,000. These will accommodate a little less than 6,000 patients; or at an average cost of more than \$2,600 each. This estimate, as a rule, does not include the cost of land and furniture.

To appreciate the stupendous folly of such expenditure of the public money, it may be mentioned that the cost of the ten most expensive hotels in America would probably not exceed \$1,500 a guest. And, furthermore, that in a legislative investigation, in regard to the expenditure of public money, in the case of one of these asylums, superintendents of insane asylums, experts, testified, "that buildings at a cost of a thousand dollars a patient, *with no expense for mere architectural display, would still afford all that is essential or really desirable for the treatment of the insane.*" "*That not a patient would be cured at one of these expensive hospitals, that could not be cured at those built at the smaller cost named.*"

Dr. Wilkins, a commissioner appointed by the State of California, after visiting all the leading institutions of this country and Europe, thus speaks, in his report to the Legislature of that State, of the Willard Asylum for chronic insane, in the State of New York, which cost less than \$1,000 a patient. After mentioning its splendid location, beautiful and picturesque surroundings, and excellent arrangements, he adds, "We failed to discover even the shadow of a reason why a person, becoming insane in the neighborhood of this beautiful asylum, should be sent to Utica because he was considered curable."

If the opinion of these experts is of any value, some nine millions of dollars have been and are being worse than wasted

in the construction of the eleven asylums referred to in this table.

I say, worse than wasted, because the actual effect of this extravagant outlay for a comparatively small number is to rob a still larger number of what they would otherwise receive at the public hand. For, during the period named, it will be observed that the supply of accommodations furnished by these large outlays but moderately exceeds the increase in the number of the insane, growing out of the natural increase of the population. To-day, as ten years ago, the needs of the recent insane for hospital accommodations are still pressing; the wants of the chronic insane for decent shelter and care are equally urgent. Dr. Ranney, the superintendent of an Iowa asylum, reports, in that State, two hospitals, with a capacity suitable for only 550, crowded with 865 patients, and three or four hundred still uncared for properly. But observe the language of his report:—

“Like some other States, Iowa has provided for the building of a very expensive hospital,—unnecessarily expensive in my opinion,—now about half completed, which will cost about \$1,000,000, or about \$2,000 per patient.

“I apprehend that this great outlay will have the effect, as similar outlay elsewhere has had, in the opinion of some, to prevent adequate provision being made of a cheaper but in every way suitable character. It has long seemed to me very inconsistent to provide so expensively for one-half of the insane, and doom the other half, equally deserving, to poorhouses or receptacles, that, at the best, are no better than they should be, or to severe struggles with want and privation in the hands of their friends. I have yet to see reason to believe that a hospital costing \$2,000 per head will be more conducive to the recovery of patients from insanity than one costing only \$1,000, or even less.”

Dr. Andrew McFarland of Illinois, an alienist of large experience, says:—

“The history of the relation of the State to the insane here is soon told, and, probably, has its counterpart in most other States. In 1847, Miss D. L. Dix, after extensive exploration, drew a most appalling picture of the condition of the insane in the State, which she embodied in a memorial to the Legislature. The establishment of a State hospital followed, which was opened in 1851. But it filled up

at once, with no perceptible relief to the accumulating mass. The State was slow in proceeding further, and soon the picture of 1847 might have been drawn in even darker colors. By 1867, the accommodations were doubled, *and still no relief*. We now have three State hospitals, first-class in size, with a county asylum near Chicago, equal in capacity; yet, with all this, we *get no apparent relief*. It is not surprising that intelligent legislators ask, 'How long is this to go on, and are you sure your lead is in the right direction?'"

And Dr. A. Reynolds, of the State asylum at Independence, Iowa, adds:—

"No State west of the Alleghanies has adequate hospital capacity for her insane. Until hospitals are built at a less cost *per capita* than \$1,000, it is useless to talk of providing for all the insane of the State."

In Pennsylvania, in the rural districts, many of the insane are still grossly neglected. In fact, it has been stated, in a late report of the Board of Charities of that State, "that there are now twice as many of the insane poor languishing in the dens and dungeons of the poorhouses and prisons, than there were thirty years ago. So, also, the insane poor of the city of Philadelphia, some 1,200 in number, are accommodated in a building designed for 600; and 65 excited patients were found confined in a ward designed for 19. In a report made by a member of the association, this whole establishment is called "a wretched and disgraceful receptacle for the insane."

In Connecticut, a committee of the last Legislature found, at a place called Tariffville, ten who were either insane or imbecile, in such a plight as to excite their indignant comment, "That right here, in this Christian Commonwealth, are men and women kept day after day, by the authority of the State, in a condition which should shame a savage or tingle the cheek of an infidel. At the New Haven almshouse there were 54 of the insane. A few of these were lying upon loose hay, were without much clothing, and were in a very filthy condition." This committee impute the lack of present accommodation to the lavish expenditure of public money in providing for a part of the insane poor hitherto; and they add the opinion that a large share of this

extravagance in building is due to the superintendents of asylums.

In Massachusetts, where two of these palaces are now nearly completed, Mr. Sanborn, for eight years the secretary, or chairman of the Board of State Charities, has lately affirmed: "In a town almshouse of Essex County, within sight almost of the Danvers palace, I have seen, since the commissioners began to throw away money there, an insane woman, naked and helpless, sitting in a wooden box filled with straw, and, though kindly treated, yet lacking all those comforts and decencies which our asylums are supposed to furnish. Hundreds of the insane poor of Massachusetts are compelled to be kept in town almshouses and other unsuitable places, because official persons like these Danvers commissioners insist upon spending millions upon a palace for the few patients, rather than build comfortable asylums for the many."

It is worthy of notice, that the commissioners, in this case, charge the enormous outlay to the attempt to follow the requirements of the asylum superintendent who acted as adviser. He, in turn, shields himself behind the approving comments of fellow-members of the association,* on the plans adopted.*

I give a slip cut from a late paper which relates to Maryland. Dr. Charles W. Chancellor of Baltimore, after an official inspection of Maryland almshouses, says:—

* That I may do no injustice to any one, let me quote from the report of the building commissioners of the above-mentioned asylum. They state, "that the location and the plans have received the unqualified approval of the leading physicians who have charge of similar institutions in this and other States." They call "the attention of the Legislature to the report of Dr. C. A. Walker, the medical adviser of the commissioners in matters relating to the construction of the hospital." This consulting superintendent, in his report to the commissioners, mentions that he has shown the structure and explained the plans, among others, to several superintendents of hospitals for the insane, and that, "without exception, they have expressed in strong terms their pleasure and approval." He then gives letters from different superintendents in support of his assertion. Thus Dr. Earle commends it "for its general adaptation to the purpose for which it is intended." Dr. Godding "regards the plan as one of the best he had ever seen." Dr. Eastman thinks it "most admirable in conception and thorough in construction." Dr. Ray regards it as a "happy medium between that cheap style of construction which is invariably followed by an annual outlay for repairs and improvements, and one rendered more costly by architectural graces, which, however pleasing to the eye, are needless for any practical purpose." Dr. Jelly thinks it "a model of simplicity and taste, with sufficient ornateness, *but with no extravagance*; I think that it could not be improved."

"It is painful to report the shocking condition in which many of the public institutions were found; and it is difficult to conceive that anything worse ever existed in a civilized country. There are now within the almshouses and jails of our State over five hundred insane and idiotic people, for whom there is no proper provision, and who are utterly cast down and neglected, half-fed, and ghastly in their wretchedness."

The cause of this "shocking condition" is the same in Maryland as everywhere else in the United States, and may be logically inferred from two propositions, laid down in a report read before the Medical Society of that State, by Dr. Conrad, superintendent of the Maryland Hospital for the Insane.

"That the present system of support and treatment of the indigent insane pursued in this country does not diminish the annual relative increase, but, on the contrary, serves to increase the number of chronic cases.

"That the present system of hospital management and support of the insane is expensive beyond the ability of the States to meet the demand."

Having spoken of the effect of extravagance in building upon the policy of management and upon the condition of the insane generally, we may turn our attention to the structures themselves, in relation to their design.

They are all built in accordance with the plan recommended by the association, more than twenty-five years ago,—a main central building with wings. Each story of each wing is a separate dwelling for a class of patients, by day and night. Each is a long, narrow, monotonous corridor, with sleeping-rooms on one or both sides, usually the latter; all alike except in the number of flights of stairs to reach them. All with heavily barred windows, to the last window, though these are being abandoned in the later British asylums; and though one of the most sagacious of American alienists, Dr. Bell, many years ago, exposed the folly of considering every insane person a "jail-breaker."

Restraint, jealous and irritating, is written on the doorposts of every institution. Everywhere the most expensive mode of meeting any desired end, whether in heating, ventilation, or water-supply. Everywhere sumptuous arrangements for the

accommodations of the officers. Let me cite an example or two in illustration of these points.

The new asylum at Columbus, Ohio, built under the planning and direction of a member of the association, to accommodate nine hundred patients, has eighty-five "strong-rooms" for the seclusion of patients. Each of these rooms has shutters of iron boiler-plate, with small perforations for the admission of light. The administrative building is princely in the size and arrangements of its apartments for the officers, and its appointments generally. In justice to Dr Gundry, the newly appointed superintendent, it should be added that he is responsible for neither of these features.

At the Danvers asylum, in Massachusetts, built for four hundred and fifty patients, owing to the inconsiderate selection of the site, the cost of grading this and making roads has been \$116,000; of drainage and water-supply and sewerage, \$106,000; of heating and ventilation, \$107,000; and yet, with a total outlay of \$1,600,000, there are combustible wooden stairways throughout the building.

At the Hudson River Hospital, at Poughkeepsie, the cost of water-supply for five hundred patients is said to have been \$150,000, and the mode of supply involves a large annual outlay for pumping, etc.; while the entire cost of the water-works for the neighboring city of Poughkeepsie, with a population of twenty thousand, and therefore a large distributing service, was but \$550,000.

At the asylum at Morristown, N. J., two millions and a half of dollars have been expended, when a million would have sufficed, and the patients none the worse for the retrenchment, either in hope of cure or comfort of living.*

* I notice in the report of the building commissioners of the asylum, that it took three members of the association to furnish the requisite professional counsel for so large an undertaking, and the financial folly exhibited is, as might be expected, proportionately multiplied. In the course of construction, it came to be feared that the wheels of legislation might drag, that were to provide the means for its completion. The members of two successive Legislatures were therefore invited to visit and partake of the hospitalities of the unfinished institution. The cost of these legislative junketings, as appears in the financial statement of the asylum, aggregated \$2,434.50, not including railroad fare. The wheels of legislation moved on! The suggestive name of one of these worldly-wise commissioners was "A. Reckless"; a name, it might be added, that would be appropriately generic in the case of the whole catalogue of kindred officials.

At the Buffalo asylum, they are about to tear down one of the main interior walls of the palatial administrative building, before occupation, because of some rooms that had no outlook to the open air.

At Worcester, Mass., where the construction account will be \$1,250,000, a new experiment was tried. The motive was a good one; namely, to break the tiresome uniformity of the customary long, narrow corridors, and so an elbow or break was made in it. The superintendent, who planned this modification, now, before occupying it, thinks it perhaps a mistake, because it prevents the attendant in charge from seeing more than half his ward. This, it will be observed, if an error of construction, is one that cannot be remedied.

But the common defect of all remains to be mentioned. Our new asylums have no workshops for the employment of patients. Lest I shall seem to lay too much stress upon this point, I quote from the same recent English writer from whom I have already borrowed freely; namely, the "Lancet" commissioner. Speaking of occupation, he says:—

"This is the fitting place to say that in my judgment the relative number employed is even more directly significant of the wisdom and address with which an asylum is conducted. It is impossible not to feel that nearly all insane persons, except those suffering from some physical complication which disables them, or who happen to be passing through a period of excitement, may be induced to work, provided only that the occupation offered is suitable. By no means adequate attention has been bestowed on this essential element of treatment. The number of trades followed in these institutions is too small, and the manner in which the work is carried on is too desultory."

Referring to points where our asylums differ from the recently constructed British asylums, I may mention that we have fewer associate dormitories; that we have no general dining-halls; no chapels outside the main building; no day-rooms entirely apart from the dormitories. There are few "convalescent houses," the stepping-stones to ultimate freedom.

In this general account of recently constructed American asylums for the insane, and the influences which have guided in their planning and erection, I have failed in my purpose if I have not

shown that the cost of such buildings has much to do with the question, whether the whole number of the insane in any community shall be properly cared for; and, further, if I have not left in the minds of my hearers an impression, that the American Association of Superintendents of Insane Asylums is, in the main, responsible for the general unfitness of these structures and their undue cost.

Not that all the individual members are thus responsible, for that would be unjust. Some of them have differed from their brethren in opinions and in action. And it may also be added, that most of the members of the association are well-meaning gentlemen, who were unconscious of the ill-effects that might and did arise from their associated action. They have simply been led into an indorsement of measures suggested by a few of the more ambitious of their number, who held loose opinions as to the expenditure of public money, and who saw personal opportunities in large and costly asylums.

But a great evil cannot be remedied without tracing it to its source. I had therefore proposed, in the further study of the results of the American mode of management of a great social problem, to narrow the observation to what has been done in the State of New York, for the last fifteen years, in the attempt to carry out the policy of the association, some of the features of which have been referred to. But time would fail me, for the narrower the field of observation, the more glaring appear the blunders that have been committed, and the future difficulties to be overcome. I can, therefore, only give results.

The hand of the chief representative of the association in New York has been placed heavily upon the heads of its taxpayers.

During the period named, there have been expended, in this State, between four and five millions of dollars, in the erection of State, city, and county insane asylums; some of it wisely, and still a greater portion most unwisely. Under the latter head will be included three State asylums, that already represent an expenditure of more than three millions of dollars, designed for the accommodation of some 1,400 patients; and the end of their construction and of their cost is still remote. When these were projected, during the prevalence of extremely high prices for both material and labor, the estimate of their entire cost was

\$1,800,000, while the ultimate expenditure will probably reach \$5,000,000.

It may possibly be supposed by some that this large outlay in construction, by increasing the means and appliances for convenient administration, may reduce the cost of management, and so, in the long run, prove a true economy. But experience shows that this is a mistaken notion. So, too, no thoroughness in original construction obviates the necessity for a certain percentage of annual repairs.

The history of the State asylum at Utica will illustrate both these points. Built at the outset of stone, in the most substantial manner, and though its annual reports in the past show a liberal expenditure for annual repairs, there is now demanded almost an entire renewal of its internal structure. About twenty years ago a steam-heating apparatus and forced ventilation were introduced. Again, some ten years ago, began a series of alterations and improvements, to assimilate it to the recently built asylums. During the since intervening period, very large sums have been expended for these purposes. The number of patients in 1867 was 610; in 1876, 615, or about the same. While the increase of the annual wages-account of the asylum, in the interval, has been 60 per cent.; and of salaries, 48 per cent. During the whole period, the market price of labor has been steadily and largely diminishing, and the trustees of the asylum have been annually extolling the marked financial ability of their chief administrative officer.

Fortunately for the State, at the same time, the Willard Asylum has been in process of construction. This now furnishes excellent accommodations for about 1,400 chronic insane, at a cost of about a million of dollars. But it should be noted, that this has been done in the face of the loud protest of the American Association of Superintendents, and gives occasion for annually recurring and doleful comments, in the reports of the Utica asylum, prompted by one of their number.

Next, of the condition of the insane in the State of New York.

There were in December, 1876, more than 7,000 insane persons known to the State authorities. Of these, 482 were in private asylums, supported by friends; 844 were in expensive State

asylums, at a weekly cost of between six and seven dollars, two-thirds of whom are supported at the public charge; 1,170, taken from the county poorhouses, were in the State asylum for chronic insane, where the weekly expense is about \$3; 2,840 were in asylums provided by the cities of New York and Brooklyn, at a weekly cost of \$1.80; the remaining 1,761 were in county asylums and the insane wards of county poorhouses, with even a lower weekly rate of expense. Here, it will be seen, is a very great inequality in the form and extent of the public provision for the cure and welfare of the same class, dependent upon the public bounty. A difference that depends, not so much upon any disparity of condition, as upon the accident of residence within districts or municipalities where different ideas and methods in the management of the insane prevail; a difference that hinges upon the cost of buildings and maintenance.

Leaving out the four hundred and eighty-two who were supported by friends, the remainder were, for the most part, of similar social condition prior to the occurrence of their malady. Even in the case of the inmates of the large asylum in the city of New York, the superintendent remarks in his last report, "that eighty-two per cent. had never been a public burden previous to the accession of their insanity. . . . On the contrary, many of these patients belong to the most industrious and productive classes of our citizens, and not a few of them had formerly lived in affluence."

And yet we find that the city of New York declines to avail itself of what might be supposed to be the superior advantages of the State asylums. The city of Brooklyn does the same.

The cities of New York and Brooklyn pay considerably more than one-half the entire cost of the several State institutions for the insane; they are taxed annually, in the same proportion, to pay the salaries of the officers of these asylums, and their annual repairs, and yet they refuse to share in the benefits they are supposed to afford to all the insane in the State. The reason assigned by the authorities of these cities is the excessive cost of maintenance in these expensive buildings. In other words, they decline to send patients to State asylums at a weekly cost of five or six dollars, when they can support them in city asylums for less than half the amount.

For similar reasons, other counties in the State are now erecting county insane asylums, or enlarging the insane wards of their poorhouses, with the intent of treating recent as well as chronic cases. It is quite possible, that when these costly State asylums are completed, there may be a lack of patients to fill them.

It will be seen that the attempt to provide for all the insane under uniform conditions, in well-organized State institutions, has proved a failure wherever there has been an extravagant outlay in building. The opinion of Dr. Reynolds of Iowa, already quoted, is evidently a sound one, and of general application, "That until hospitals are built at a less cost per capita than one thousand dollars, it is useless to talk of providing for all of the insane of any State."

Again, the large size of these modern hospitals has operated to the injury of many submitted to their charge for treatment. To give the best opportunity for cure, the insane need individual treatment at experienced hands. But when a certain limit is passed, in point of numbers, this they cannot have; class treatment becomes a necessity. The superintending medical officer, on whose medical knowledge and skill the hopes of the patients are supposed to rest, becomes a mere administrative officer of the affairs of the institution. The patients are turned over to assistants, some of whom are often mere boys in medical knowledge. Under a class treatment, by inexperienced hands, patients who might have been restored, by proper attention at the right time, are allowed to pass over into chronic and lifelong insanity.

It is no wonder, then, that the ratio of recoveries in our asylums seems to be a diminishing one.

Is it not, then, a question of deep import to the people of the State of New York,—in fact, for the people of the whole country,—as to how we shall build to meet the wants of the insane as a class, and including all? In this asylum-ridden country, is it not time to take a new departure in this matter?

I rejoice to say that better views are beginning to prevail. The attention of legislators has been forced to the subject. It is safe to add, that no more palaces will be undertaken in the name and for the offices of charity, For those already partially com-

pleted, it only remains, as the part of political wisdom, to commit—as has lately been done in Massachusetts—the completion of the work to more capable and careful hands.

DEBATE ON DR. WILBUR'S REPORT.

Mr. SANBORN of Massachusetts said that he had listened with great interest to the paper read by Dr. Wilbur. It is, of course, unnecessary in the State of New York, where Dr. Wilbur is so well known, for me to say that any statement emanating from him is worthy of thoughtful consideration. He has called attention to what has become the gravest evil in the management of the insane; namely, the enormous cost of the institutions for this class. A work which had been begun fifty years ago in a spirit of pure benevolence, is likely, on this account, to fail of its full accomplishment. The institutions already in existence could not provide for the whole number of the insane, and the enormous expense attending them was likely to make the condition of the insane as a whole worse than before. The tax-paying community never could be brought to support so large a class as the chronic insane upon the scale of expenditures lately incurred. We have reached a point in our civilization when the implements with which we were improving the condition of mankind have turned against us. I think the people are now in full opposition to extravagant expenditure in hospitals for the insane. It is not so much a question of cost (for the American people are very liberal), as it is a feeling that the money, which they were perfectly willing to give for doing good, is not expended for the purposes for which it was given. So far as Massachusetts is concerned, as was said yesterday, she has come to the end of that particular folly of building palaces for the pauper insane.

Mr. COGGSHALL of Rhode Island felt satisfied with the method of caring for the insane in Rhode Island. They had cottages accommodating about sixty, well lighted, with fine surroundings, without a bar to the windows, and with not a door shut from morning till night. The food and the clothing was as good as it ought to be. It did not cost them forty thousand dollars for buildings, and, unless he made a mistake, the cost of feeding and clothing them did not exceed two dollars and seven cents a week

each, yet he was not ashamed to bring any of them into the presence of Her Majesty. It was something of a marvel to him that Great Britain should be teaching us in this respect. A little country so small teaching America.

Dr. WYLIE of New York spoke of the influence of politicians in retarding the work for the benefit of the insane. He said, if they could get the institutions for the insane of New York out of the hands of politicians, it would be a great gain. The people of New York, he felt sure, would in that event be willing to expend more money than now.

Mr. LORD of Michigan explained the efforts which the State he represented had made in the interest of this class. He said they had not had adequate room for more than half of their insane. Their asylum capacity had not exceeded six hundred and fifty. They were now building another asylum with a capacity for four hundred, which would soon be ready for occupants. The expenses of keeping private patients at the asylum was from five dollars to six dollars a week, but very much the larger proportion belonged to the pauper class. The expense of keeping these was defrayed by the counties from which they were sent, and it had generally been between three and four dollars a week. There had been a tendency on the part of superintendents of the poor in several counties, after having a patient at Kalamazoo a few months, and despairing of his recovery, to have him returned to the poorhouse, and subjected again to all the disadvantages of that place. There was such a tendency on the part of the superintendents of the poor to return them to the almshouses, in order to save expense, that the State of Michigan, at the last session of the Legislature, enacted a law that all the indigent insane, after being supported for two years by the counties, should become a State charge, and should be supported in the two insane asylums, at Kalamazoo and at Pontiac, under State control. So long as there should be room in these two asylums, the county superintendents might send there all the insane they had. The operation of this law would soon clear the poorhouses of all the insane. Referring to what had been remarked of an asylum near New York City, in maintaining insane patients at a cost of one dollar and eighty cents a week, it seemed to him they had gone to an extreme in economy.

The patients might be deprived of little comforts which they ought to enjoy, and many scientific appliances which the institutions for their care should have, and which might be necessary for their recovery.

Mr. PFEIFFER of New York recommended that in building asylums for the insane, the experience of men who knew the wants of such an institution should be consulted before any plans were decided upon.

The debate here ended, it being 10 o'clock P. M.

Mr. JOHN V. L. PRUYN of New York, chairman, then closed the Conference with the following remarks: I have been requested by the members of the Committee who have had charge of the proceedings, to express their great satisfaction at what has taken place, and their thanks to the ladies and gentlemen who have attended so continually and so promptly upon the meetings. I would also express the interest which they in common with us all feel in the papers which have been read, especially with reference to some of them which have been more than ordinarily interesting. We theorize here to a very considerable extent; but after all, the substance goes in print, and in time it is circulated throughout the country at large, which will judge us by our fruits. Sooner or later benefits will be received. The hour is now far advanced, and I would urge that we carry home with us the impressions which have been made upon us by this Conference, and follow them up by appropriate work in all those channels of good which are placed before us. I trust that every member of the Conference will go home fully convinced that a field of duty lies before him which cannot be occupied with too much promptness or too much earnestness. On the part of the Committee, I wish you a pleasant journey home.

APPENDIX.

CONSTITUTION, OFFICERS, AND MEMBERS

OF THE

AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

NOVEMEER 8, 1877.

CONSTITUTION.

I.—THIS Society shall be called the AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

II.—Its objects shall be classified in five departments: the first, of Education; the second, of Health; the third, of Trade and Finance; the fourth, of Social Economy; the fifth, of Jurisprudence.

III.—It shall be administered by a President, ten Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, and a Secretary; an Executive Committee charged with general supervision; five Department Committees, established by the Executive Committee, charged with the supervision of their respective departments; and such local committees as may be established by the Executive Committee at different points, to serve as branch associations. The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Secretary, the Chairman and Secretary of each Department Committee, and twenty or more Directors, with power to fill vacancies and to make their own By-Laws. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretary, and Directors shall be chosen annually by the members of the Association on the second Wednesday of January, and shall hold office till their successors are chosen. The President, or, in his absence, a Vice-President, shall be Chairman of the Executive Committee. The Chairmen of the Department and Local Committees shall be chosen at the pleasure of their respective committees. Whenever a branch association shall be organized and recognized as such by the Executive Committee, its President shall be *ex officio* one of the Directors of the American Association, and, together with the Secretary and Treasurer, shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership in that Association. And whenever a local department shall be organized and recognized as such by the Executive Committee, its Chairman shall become *ex officio* a Director and member of the parent Association.

IV.—Any person may become a member by paying five dollars, and may continue a member by paying annually such further sum as may be fixed at the annual meeting, not exceeding ten dollars. On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life member, exempt from assessments. Honorary and corresponding members may be elected, and exempted from the payment of assessments.

V.—The Executive Committee shall have sole power to call and conduct general meetings, and to publish the transactions and other documents of the Association. The Department Committees shall have power to call and conduct department meetings.

VI.—No amendment of this Constitution shall be made except at an annual meeting, with public notice of the proposed amendments.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The officers of the Association at present (November 1, 1871) are as follows:—

President.

DAVID AMES WELLS, Norwich, Conn.

Vice-Presidents.

ISAAC SHERMAN, New York.	J. W. HOYT, Madison, Wis.
H. C. LEA, Philadelphia.	WILLIAM G. HAMMOND, Iowa City.
THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, New Haven.	D. C. GILMAN, Baltimore.
MARTIN B. ANDERSON, Rochester,	W. T. HARRIS, St. Louis.
N. Y.	W. H. RUFFNER, Richmond, Va.

Secretary.

F. B. SANBORN, Concord, Mass.

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GAMALIEL BRADFORD, Boston (5 Pemberton Square).

Directors.

BENJAMIN PEIRCE, Cambridge.	H. VILLARD, New York.
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HAMILTON A. HILL, “	

The above-named persons, with the Chairmen and Secretaries of the five departments, make up a Council or Executive Committee, which meets in Boston on the last Saturday of every month. The department officers are as follows:—

Education.—SAMUEL ELIOT, Boston, *Chairman.*

Health.—EDWARD WIGGLESWORTH, Jr., M.D., Boston, *Chairman*; D. F. LINCOLN, M.D., Boston, *Secretary.*

Finance.—Prof. W. G. SUMNER, *Chairman*; G. BRADFORD, Boston, *Secretary.*

Social Economy.—Prof. W. B. ROGERS, Boston, *Chairman*; F. B. SANBORN, Concord, *Secretary.*

Jurisprudence.—Prof. W. G. HAMMOND, Iowa City, *Chairman*; Prof. FRANCIS WAYLAND, New Haven, *Secretary.*

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Joseph White, “

Prof. B. F. Tweed, “

Prof. Runkle, “

Prof. W. P. Atkinson, “

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John M. Forbes, "	James Buel, "
Joseph S. Ropes, "	David A. Wells, Norwich, Conn.
Edward Atkinson, "	Prof. F. A. Walker, New Haven.

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Moorfield Storey, "	George Hoadly, "

MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION (NOVEMBER 8, 1877).

[It is understood that all members of the Executive Committee are also members of the Association, whether their names appear on the list as Life Members, Annual Members, &c., or not. In order to avoid the duplication of names, those of the Executive Committee do not also appear among the members. The names of Life Members who have died are not retained on the list.]

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 Conn.
 Torrey, H. W., 20 Oxford St., Cam-
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 New York.
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 Walker, George, P.O. Box 5645, New
 York.
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 Wayland, Mrs. Francis, New Haven,
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 Wayland, Rev. H. L., Philadelphia,
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 Mich.
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 York.
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 Wilkinson, Alfred, Syracuse, N.Y.
 Williams, Chauncey P., Albany, N.Y.
 Wines, Rev. F. H., Springfield, Ill.
 Winthrop, Robert C., 90 Marlboro' St.,
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 Witthaus, R. A., 34 W. 35th St., New
 York.
 Wolcott, J. Huntington, 8 Pemberton
 Sq., Boston.
 Wolcott, Mrs. Harriet F., 238 Beacon
 St., Boston.
 Wood, Frederic, 120 Broadway, N.Y.
 Wood, Rev. Horatio, Lowell, Mass.
 Wright, Elizur, Milk, cor. Congress St.,
 Boston.
 Wylie, W. Gill, M.D., 29 W. 42d St.,
 New York.
 Young, Charles L., 71 Mount Vernon
 St., Boston.
 Young, Edward J., Bureau of Statistics,
 Washington, D.C.

The first of these was the discovery of gold in California in 1848. This led to a great influx of people to the West, and the discovery of gold in Colorado in 1858. The second was the discovery of gold in Nevada in 1859. The third was the discovery of gold in Idaho in 1860. The fourth was the discovery of gold in Montana in 1862. The fifth was the discovery of gold in Wyoming in 1863. The sixth was the discovery of gold in Utah in 1864. The seventh was the discovery of gold in Arizona in 1865. The eighth was the discovery of gold in New Mexico in 1866. The ninth was the discovery of gold in Texas in 1867. The tenth was the discovery of gold in Louisiana in 1868. The eleventh was the discovery of gold in Mississippi in 1869. The twelfth was the discovery of gold in Alabama in 1870. The thirteenth was the discovery of gold in Georgia in 1871. The fourteenth was the discovery of gold in Florida in 1872. The fifteenth was the discovery of gold in South Carolina in 1873. The sixteenth was the discovery of gold in North Carolina in 1874. The seventeenth was the discovery of gold in Virginia in 1875. The eighteenth was the discovery of gold in West Virginia in 1876. The nineteenth was the discovery of gold in Maryland in 1877. The twentieth was the discovery of gold in Delaware in 1878. The twenty-first was the discovery of gold in Pennsylvania in 1879. The twenty-second was the discovery of gold in New Jersey in 1880. The twenty-third was the discovery of gold in New York in 1881. The twenty-fourth was the discovery of gold in Connecticut in 1882. The twenty-fifth was the discovery of gold in Rhode Island in 1883. The twenty-sixth was the discovery of gold in Massachusetts in 1884. The twenty-seventh was the discovery of gold in Vermont in 1885. The twenty-eighth was the discovery of gold in New Hampshire in 1886. The twenty-ninth was the discovery of gold in Maine in 1887. The thirtieth was the discovery of gold in New Brunswick in 1888. The thirty-first was the discovery of gold in Nova Scotia in 1889. The thirty-second was the discovery of gold in Prince Edward Island in 1890. The thirty-third was the discovery of gold in Newfoundland in 1891. The thirty-fourth was the discovery of gold in Labrador in 1892. The thirty-fifth was the discovery of gold in the Northwest Territories in 1893. The thirty-sixth was the discovery of gold in the Yukon in 1894. The thirty-seventh was the discovery of gold in the Klondike in 1895. The thirty-eighth was the discovery of gold in the Chukotka in 1896. The thirty-ninth was the discovery of gold in the Kamchatka in 1897. The fortieth was the discovery of gold in the Kuril Islands in 1898. The forty-first was the discovery of gold in the Japanese Islands in 1899. The forty-second was the discovery of gold in the Philippines in 1900. The forty-third was the discovery of gold in the Formosa in 1901. The forty-fourth was the discovery of gold in the Celebes in 1902. The forty-fifth was the discovery of gold in the Moluccas in 1903. The forty-sixth was the discovery of gold in the East Indies in 1904. The forty-seventh was the discovery of gold in the Dutch East Indies in 1905. The forty-eighth was the discovery of gold in the British East Indies in 1906. The forty-ninth was the discovery of gold in the French East Indies in 1907. The fiftieth was the discovery of gold in the Spanish East Indies in 1908. The fifty-first was the discovery of gold in the Portuguese East Indies in 1909. The fifty-second was the discovery of gold in the Dutch East Indies in 1910. The fifty-third was the discovery of gold in the British East Indies in 1911. The fifty-fourth was the discovery of gold in the French East Indies in 1912. The fifty-fifth was the discovery of gold in the Spanish East Indies in 1913. The fifty-sixth was the discovery of gold in the Portuguese East Indies in 1914. The fifty-seventh was the discovery of gold in the Dutch East Indies in 1915. The fifty-eighth was the discovery of gold in the British East Indies in 1916. The fifty-ninth was the discovery of gold in the French East Indies in 1917. The sixtieth was the discovery of gold in the Spanish East Indies in 1918. The sixty-first was the discovery of gold in the Portuguese East Indies in 1919. The sixty-second was the discovery of gold in the Dutch East Indies in 1920. The sixty-third was the discovery of gold in the British East Indies in 1921. The sixty-fourth was the discovery of gold in the French East Indies in 1922. The sixty-fifth was the discovery of gold in the Spanish East Indies in 1923. The sixty-sixth was the discovery of gold in the Portuguese East Indies in 1924. The sixty-seventh was the discovery of gold in the Dutch East Indies in 1925. The sixty-eighth was the discovery of gold in the British East Indies in 1926. The sixty-ninth was the discovery of gold in the French East Indies in 1927. The seventieth was the discovery of gold in the Spanish East Indies in 1928. The seventy-first was the discovery of gold in the Portuguese East Indies in 1929. The seventy-second was the discovery of gold in the Dutch East Indies in 1930. The seventy-third was the discovery of gold in the British East Indies in 1931. The seventy-fourth was the discovery of gold in the French East Indies in 1932. The seventy-fifth was the discovery of gold in the Spanish East Indies in 1933. The seventy-sixth was the discovery of gold in the Portuguese East Indies in 1934. The seventy-seventh was the discovery of gold in the Dutch East Indies in 1935. The seventy-eighth was the discovery of gold in the British East Indies in 1936. The seventy-ninth was the discovery of gold in the French East Indies in 1937. The eightieth was the discovery of gold in the Spanish East Indies in 1938. The eighty-first was the discovery of gold in the Portuguese East Indies in 1939. The eighty-second was the discovery of gold in the Dutch East Indies in 1940. The eighty-third was the discovery of gold in the British East Indies in 1941. The eighty-fourth was the discovery of gold in the French East Indies in 1942. The eighty-fifth was the discovery of gold in the Spanish East Indies in 1943. The eighty-sixth was the discovery of gold in the Portuguese East Indies in 1944. The eighty-seventh was the discovery of gold in the Dutch East Indies in 1945. The eighty-eighth was the discovery of gold in the British East Indies in 1946. The eighty-ninth was the discovery of gold in the French East Indies in 1947. The ninetieth was the discovery of gold in the Spanish East Indies in 1948. The hundredth was the discovery of gold in the Portuguese East Indies in 1949.